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GAC
Davies

HISTORY OF HOLLAND,

FROM

THE BEGINNING OF THE TENTH

TO

THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

C. M. DAVIES.

Onward methinks, and diligently slow,
The firm, connected bulwark seems to grow :
Spreads its long arms amidst the wat'ry roar,
Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore.

GOLDSMITH'S *Traveller*.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON :

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLI.

LONDON :
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

P R E F A C E.

At a period such as the present, when the general appetite for knowledge is at once quickened and satiated by all that is pungent in wit, delicate in sentiment, rich in learning, and novel in science—when, by the plastic hand of modern invention, history herself is made to suit the alluring garb of romance—it is with diffidence that I solicit attention to a work which has nothing but fidelity to recommend it, and of which the subject, deeply interesting in itself, but deficient perhaps in some of the subsidiary attractions incidental to historical narrative, requires a pen of more than ordinary ability to do it justice. It is not an overweening vanity or presumption that has prompted me on this occasion; not that, unawed by the high and grave duties of an historian, I have ventured upon them in wanton recklessness, or blind ignorance of my own incapacity, or touched without trembling the very lowest hem of the mantle of Livy and Tacitus; but in the conviction that it is the duty of every one to cast his mite, however humble, into the treasury of human knowledge; in the consciousness that if I shall have done little to enlighten, I have in no one instance wilfully contributed to the propagation or continuance of error; in the hope of proving useful to those who, like myself, have felt the disadvantage to which the English reader of history is subject, of knowing nothing of the internal government, constitution, laws, and habits of a people, whose name, celebrated throughout the world, is to be met with on nearly every page of the history of Europe. It is with the view of presenting this knowledge in a compendious form that the following Work has been composed, of which, as I have said, the chief recommendation is fidelity; and, in order that my

readers may advance with confidence in this yet almost untrodden path, I have not hesitated to incur the imputation both of tediousness and pedantry, by quoting an authority for the statement of every, even the most simple fact; and I have likewise pointed out the exact place in the author where the passage referred to is to be found, so as to give every facility for the discovery and correction of any error into which I may have fallen. In cases where facts have been differently represented by different writers, I have given the preference to such contemporary authors as had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the truth, or whose penetration and integrity render them most worthy to be relied on: where these fail me, I have had recourse to such compilers as are most generally esteemed for judgment and research; and having done this, I have forborne to enter into tedious discussions of facts, which after all may be of comparatively slight importance, and lengthened disquisitions on authors which are never likely to fall into the hands of the generality of readers.

But though neither time nor labour has been spared, the Work falls still far short of the model framed for it in my own mind. Would that the task might be undertaken by some more skilful hand,—by one who to equal earnestness and patience may unite infinitely more talent and opportunity; and who, undeterred by the difficulties he will encounter, and of which more than a due share has fallen to my lot, may convince himself and the world of the real value and abundance of that mine from whence I have failed to extract gems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

YEAR	PAGE
913 Theodore I.	23
924 Theodore II.	23
983 County made hereditary	24
988 Arnold	25
993 Theodore III.	25
1010 Irruption of the Normans	26
Origin and rise of the Bishoprick of Utrecht	26
1015 War between Holland and Utrecht	28
1018 Accommodation	29
1039 Theodore IV.	30
The five Islands of the Scheldt	30
1047 War between the Emperor, the Bishop of Utrecht, and the Count of Holland	31
1048 War with Liege and Cologne	32
1049 Florence I.	32
1058 Alliance of Utrecht against Holland	32
War and defeat of the allies	33
1061 Florence surprised and killed	33
Theodore V.	34
Guardianship of his mother	34
1071 War with Flanders and France, and with Utrecht	35
Godfrey of Lorraine	36
1076 Theodore recovers his states	38
Friezland granted to the Bishop of Utrecht	38
1091 Florence II.	39
Crusades	39
1106 Alliance with the Empire	40
1121 Death of Florence	41
Heresy	42
Theodore VI.	42
1125 Alliance with Germany	43
Grant of Friezland	43
1137 War with Utrecht	44

YEAR		PAGE
1151	Colonization from Holland	46
1157	Florence III.	47
	Hostilities with Flanders	47
1162	Treaty with Utrecht	48
1165	Imprisonment of Florence	48
1167	Treaty with Flanders	49
	Revolt of the West Friezlanders	50
1170	Flood	50
1191	Crusade, and death of Florence, at Antioch	51
	Theodore VII.	51
1195	Wars with Flanders and West Friezland	52
1202	War with Utrecht and Brabant	54
1203	Death of Theodore	56

CHAPTER II.

1203	Accession and marriage of Ada	57
	William proclaimed Count	58
	Alliance of Louis van Loon with Flanders and Utrecht	59
	William deprived of his authority	59
1206	Peace with Utrecht and Flanders	61
1214	Alliance of Holland, with England and Germany, against France	62
	Battle of Bouvines	63
	Alliance with France	63
1216	Count of Holland accompanies Louis of France to England	64
	Peace between France and England	64
1217	Crusade	64
1224	Death of William	65
	Charter of Middleburg	65
	Florence IV.	67
1233	Crusade against the Stedingers	67
1235	Tournament at Corbye, and death of Florence	68
	William II.	69
1247	William II. chosen Emperor	70
1248	Siege of Aix	70
1253	War with Flanders and with West Friezland	72
1256	Death of William	74
	Canal of Sparendam	75
	Charters granted to the towns	75
	Constitution of Holland	76

CHAPTER III.

1256	Florence V.	107
	Treaty with Flanders	108
	Revolt of the Kemmerlanders	108

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii

YEAR	PAGE
1271 Florence assumes the government	109
1272 War with West Friezland	110
1281 Alliance with England	111
1287 Subjugation of West Friezland	112
Revolt of the Zealand nobles	115
1291 Pretensions to the Scottish crown	116
1295 Rupture of the friendship between England and Holland	117
1296 Treaty with France	117
Conspiracy of the nobles	118
Death and character of Florence	123
Minority of John I.	125
1297 War with Utrecht and West Friezland	126
War with Flanders	127
Return of Count John from England	128
Wolferd van Borselen'	128
Subjugation of West Friezland	129
Peace with Utrecht	129
1298 Disputes with Dordrecht	131
1299 Death of Borselen	134
Death of the Count, and transfer of the County to the family of Hainault	135

CHAPTER IV.

John of Avennes	137
1300 Disaffected nobles of Zealand supported by the Emperor .	138
1301 War with Utrecht, and death of the bishop	139
1302 War with Flanders	141
1304 Conquest of Zealand and North Holland	143
Invasion of the Duke of Brabant	144
Holland freed from the invaders	145
Battle of Zierikzee	147
Death of John of Avennes	149
William III.	149
1310 Truce with Flanders	150
1315 War renewed	150
1323 Final Peace with Flanders	150
1324 Marriage of the Count's daughters	151
Affairs of England and Germany	152
Subjugation of Friezland	155
Dispute with the Kemmerlanders	156
1337 Death of the Count	158
William IV.	160
Renewal of alliance with England	160
1338 War between England and France	161
1339 Battle of Sluys	162

YEAR		PAGE
1339	Siege of Tournay	162
	Truce	162
	War with Utrecht	163
1345	William slain in Friezland	163
	Margaret	164
	Claims of the King of England to the county	164
1349	War between Margaret and her son	166
1356	Death of Margaret	168

CHAPTER V.

	William V.	169
1359	Albert, governor of the county	171
	Parties of the Hooks and Cods	171
	Revolt of the Cod nobles	171
1372	Claims of the King of England abandoned	172
1379	Interference of Holland in the affairs of Flanders	173
1385	Matrimonial alliances between Burgundy and Holland	177
1390	Murder of Alice van Poelgeest by the Hooks	178
1394	William, son of Albert, retires to France	179
1396	Expeditions to Friezland	180
1400	Revolt of the Lord of Arkel	182
1404	Death and character of Albert	183
	Renunciation by his widow of her claims on his estate	185
	William VI.	185
	Disturbances in the towns	186
1405	Hostilities of the Lord of Arkel	188
1412	Treaty between Holland and Guelderland	188
	Hollanders evacuate Friezland	189
	Marriage of Jacoba	190
1417	Affairs of France, and death of the dauphin	192
	Jacoba acknowledged successor to the county	193
	Death of William	193
	Increase of the herring fishery	195

CHAPTER VI.

	Accession of Jacoba	196
	Hostilities with John of Bavaria	197
1418	Marriage with John of Brabant	198
	Loss of Rotterdam and South Holland	200
1419	Compromise	200
	Renewal of hostilities	201
1421	Jacoba retires to England	203
	Divorce between Jacoba and John of Brabant	204
1422	Marriage with the Duke of Gloucester	204

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ix

YEAR		PAGE
1424	Duke of Gloucester goes to Hainault	206
	Jacoba delivered into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy .	207
	Her escape	207
	Siege of Schoonhoven	207
1425	Death of John of Bavaria	208
	Duke of Burgundy declared his heir	208
	Jacoba defeats her enemies	209
1426	Defeat of the English, and loss of Zealand	209
	Jacoba retreats to North Holland, and thence to Gouda .	210
	Loss of Zevenbergen	213
1427	Jacoba deserted by the Duke of Gloucester	213
1428	Compromise	214
1434	Fourth marriage, and death of Jacoba	216

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

	Philip of Burgundy	219
1430	Institution of the Golden Fleece	220
1436	War with England	223
1437	Truce	224
1438	War with the Hanse towns	225
1444	Renewal of party dissensions in Holland	226
	Riots at Haarlem and Leyden	227
1451	Reform of the Church	231
	Revolt of Ghent	235
1455	David of Burgundy made Bishop of Utrecht	240
	Attempt to regain Friezland	242
	Discontents between Philip and the King of France .	244
1461	Accession of Louis XI.	247
1465	War, and treaty of Conflans	249
1466	Reduction of Liege and Dinant	251
	Changes made in Holland by the Count of Charolois .	252
	Death of Philip	252
	Prodigality of the court	255

CHAPTER II.

	Charles I.	259
1468	Marriage with Margaret of York	259
	Alliance against France	260
	Interview at Peronne	261

YEAR		PAGE
1470	Revolutions in England	263
	Hostilities with France	267
	Disturbances in Holland	268
1472	War, and truce with France	270
	Affairs of Guelderland	271
	Meeting at Treves for Charles's coronation	273
1474	Siege of Nuys	275
	League with England	275
1475	War with Lorraine and the Swiss	277
1476	Battle of Granson	279
	Battle of Morat	280
1477	Siege of Nancy, and death of Charles	281
	Accession of Mary	283
	King of France takes possession of Burgundy	283
	Assembly of the States of the Netherlands	283
	Great Charter	284
	Ambassadors sent by Mary to France	287
	War with France	288
	Marriage of the Duchess with Maximilian of Austria	290
1478	Dissensions in Holland	291
1480	Alliance with England	294
1481	Renewal of disturbances	294
	War with Utrecht	296
1482	Death and character of Mary	297

CHAPTER III.

	Maximilian acknowledged	298
	Revolt of the Flemings	298
1486	Maximilian elected King of the Romans	300
	War with France	300
1488	Second revolt of the Flemings	301
	Imprisonment of Maximilian	302
	Release and conclusion of treaty	304
	Civil war	305
	Invasion of Holland by the Hooks	306
	Pacification of Flanders	308
	Alteration of the coin in Holland	309
1490	Expulsion of the Hooks from Holland	311
1491	"Casembrotspel," or "bread and cheese war"	312
	Pardon of insurgents	316
	Reduction of Sluys	317
	Marriage of Maximilian to Anne of Bretagne	318
	Rupture of the contract	319
	Preparations for war	319
1493	Peace	321

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xi

YEAR		PAGE
1494	Philip II. assumes the Government of the Netherlands	321
1496	Commercial Treaty with England	322
	Marriage with Joanna of Spain	324
1497	Friezland conferred on Albert of Saxony	325
1500	Birth of Charles V.	326
1501	Philip takes a journey to Spain	326
1503	Death of Margaret of York	326
	War with Guelderland	327
1505	Truce	329
1506	Philip sets sail for Spain	329
	Detention in England	330
	Assumes the Government of Castile	331
	Renewal of hostilities with Guelderland	332
	Death of Philip	333

CHAPTER IV.

1507	Margaret of Savoy Governess	336
	Alliance with England	338
	League of Cambray	339
1510	War between Holland and the Hanse Towns	341
1513	Truce with Guelderland	346
	War between France and the Emperor	346
1514	General Peace	348
	Disturbed by Charles of Guelderland	348
	Groningen and Friezland	349
	Maximilian surrenders the Government	351
	Transfer of Friezland	351
1515	Treaty with France	352
1516	Charles becomes King of Spain	352
	Philip of Burgundy made Bishop of Utrecht	353
	Reformation in Holland	354
1519	Charles elected Emperor	356
1520	Visit to England	357
	Margaret confirmed in the Government	357
	Innovations on the Constitution of Holland	357
1521	Penal Edicts against the Reformers	358
1522	Death of the first Martyr	359
	War with France	359
	Treaty for the protection of Commerce and Fishery	360
	Charles of Guelderland obtains a footing in Overysse	361
	Friezland submits to the Government of the Count of Holland	362
	Constitution of Friezland	362
	War in Italy	363
	Confederacy against France	364
1525	Battle of Pavia	365

YEAR		PAGE
1525	Armistice	366
	Petitions demanded from the States of Holland	368
	Threatened hostilities with Denmark and the Hanse Towns	369
1526	Truce	370
1527	Treaty of Madrid	370
	Marriage of Charles	371
	Alliance of the Pope and King of England with France	372
	War	373
	Charles of Guelderland occupies Utrecht	373
1528	States of Holland refuse the demands of the Governess	377
	Plunder of the Hague by the Guelderlanders	378
	States grant Supplies	379
	Truce with France and England	380
	Utrecht retaken	381
	Union of Utrecht with Holland and Brabant	381
1529	Peace of Cambray	382
	Penal Edicts against Heretics	383
	Death of Margaret of Savoy	384

CHAPTER V.

1530	Charles meets the States at Brussels	386
1531	Debates on the Supplies	387
	Edicts for the regulation of the Government	389
	Mary of Hungary appointed Governess	392
	Proceedings of Christian II., King of Denmark, in Holland	392
	Blockade of the Sound	392
1533	Debates on the Supplies for a Fleet	395
1534	Truce with Denmark and Lubek	395
	Rise of the Anabaptists; their increase in Holland	395
	Missionaries to Munster	397
1535	Conduct of the Anabaptists at Munster and Amsterdam	398
	Rupture of the Truce with Denmark and Lubek	407
1536	Prohibition on the exportation of Corn	408
	League between the King of Denmark and Charles of Guelderland	410
	Invasion of Groningen	411
	Truce with Denmark	412
	Death of Erasmus	412
	War between the Emperor and France	414
	Assembly of the States	415
	Attempt to impose an Excise	416
	Proposition for a general taxation of the Netherlands	416
1539	Truce with France	417
	Disturbances at Ghent	418
	Journey of the Emperor from Spain	420

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xiii

YEAR	PAGE
1540	Emperor comes to Holland 423
	Meeting of the States 423
	Union of Holland and Utrecht 424
	Prince of Orange, Stadtholder 424
	Increased severity against Heretics 425
	Debates on the free exportation of Corn 425
	Innovation on the privileges of Holland 427
1541	Expedition of the Emperor against Algiers 428
	War with France 429
	Alliance of France with the Duke of Cleves 429
	Disputes between the Duke and Emperor concerning Guelder- land 430
	Campaign of 1542 431
	War subsidies 432
	Levy of the Hundredth Penny 432
	Income Tax 432
1543	Invasion of Juliers by the Emperor 435
	Cession of Guelderland 436
	Composition of the States of Guelderland 437
	Siege of Landrecy 438
1544	Alliance with England and Denmark 438
	Conciliation of the German Princes 439
	Invasion of France by the Emperor and King of England 440
	Siege of St. Dizier 440
	Death of the Prince of Orange, and succession of Prince William 441
	Separate Treaty between Charles and the King of France 441
	Council of Trent 442
1545	Edicts against the Protestants in the Netherlands 444
	Hostile preparations against those of Germany 444
	Subsidies contributed with reluctance by the States of Holland 445
1546	Civil War in Germany 446
	Death of Luther 448

CHAPTER VI.

1548	Standing army in the Netherlands 449
	Scheme of incorporating the Netherlands with the Empire 450
	Death of Maximilian van Egmond 453
1549	Acknowledgment of Philip III. 455
	Settlement of the Succession 455
	Oaths of Acknowledgment 456
	Edicts against Heretics 458
	Attempt to establish the Inquisition 458
1550	Opposition of Antwerp 459
	Treaty with Scotland 460

YEAR		PAGE
1550	Treaty with France	461
	Council of Trent	461
	Removed to Bologna	462
	Interim	462
1551	Council resumes its sittings at Trent	463
	Netherland prelates	463
	Termination of the deliberations of the Council	464
	War between the Emperor and Protestant Princes of Germany	465
	War with France	465
1552	Treaty of Passau	465
	Towns captured in Lorraine	466
	Protection of navigation	467
1553	Debates on subsidies	468
	Terouanne and Hesdin destroyed	469
1554	Marriage of Philip with the Queen of England	470
	Invasion of Hainault and Artois	473
	Naval engagement	474
	Demand of subsidies	475
	Violation of privileges	477
	Attempt to gain possession of the National Charters	478
1555	Fresh demands	479
	Resignation of the Emperor	480
	Observations on Holland	486

CHAPTER VII.

	Assemblies of the States	490
1556	Truce with France	491
1557	Renewal of the War	492
	Battle of St. Quentin	493
1558	Reduction of Calais	494
	Battle of Gravelingues	495
1559	Peace	496
	New Bishoprics	497
	Dissatisfaction of the Netherlanders	499
	Philip's intended departure for Spain	501
	Appointment of Margaret, duchess of Parma, to the government of the Netherlands	504
	Philip sails from Flushing	508
	Council of State	508
1560	Authority possessed by the Cardinal of Granvelle	508
	Discontents of the nobles and people	509
1563	Granvelle retires	514
1564	Affairs conducted by the Prince of Orange and his adherents	515
	Evils of their administration	516

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

XV

YEAR	PAGE
1565	Egmond's embassy to Spain 517
	Decrees of the Council of Trent enforced 519
	Inquisition and penal edicts 519
	Ferment in the Netherlands 520
1566	Confederacy of the nobles 520
	The "Gueux" 522
	Scheme for moderating the penal edicts 524
	Embassy of Bergen and Montigny to Spain 524
	Public preachings of the Reformers 526
	Iconoclasts 529
	Effect of their outrages on the mind of the Governess and of the King 530
✓	Margaret temporizes 532
	Intercepted letters 533
	Meeting of the discontented nobles 534
	Dissolution of the confederacy 535
	Renewal of severities against the Reformers 536
	Margaret takes up arms 536
	Siege of Valenciennes 536
1567	Decline of the popular party 538
	Division between Orange and Egmond 539
	Defeat of the confederate troops at Oosterwel 541
	Surrender of Valenciennes 541
	Rumour of the Duke of Alva's march into the Netherlands 541
	Abolition of the reformed worship 542
	Flight of the Prince of Orange 542
	Alva embarks from Spain 544
	Death of the Marquis of Bergen 544
	General desertion of the Netherlands 544

CHAPTER VIII.

1567	Arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands 547
	Arrest of the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn 548
	Establishment of the Council of Troubles 549
	Resignation of the Governess Margaret 550
	Severities exercised by the Council 552
	Remonstrance of Holland 553
1568	Desertion of the Netherlands 554
	Wild Gueux 554
	Outlawry of the Prince of Orange 555
	The Count of Buuren carried prisoner to Spain 555
	Commencement of hostilities 556
	Battle of Heyligherlee 557
	Execution of Egmond and Hoorn 558
	Battle of Jemmingen 562

YEAR	PAGE
1568 Campaign of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands .	563
1569 Statue of Alva at Antwerp	565
Alva's arbitrary government	565
Opposition of Leyden	566
Animosity of the Queen of England towards Alva . .	567
Seizure of the treasure sent to the Netherlands . .	568
Alva attempts to levy the tenth	569
Consents to a substitution	571
Proceedings of the Prince of Orange	572
1570 Petition of the Netherland exiles to the Diet at Spires .	573
Amnesty	574
Flood	575
1572 Gueux expelled the ports of England	576
Capture of Briel	577
Second attempt to levy the tenth	578
Siege of Briel	579
The Gueux take Flushing	580
Capture of merchant ships	581
Duke of Medina Celi arrives in the Netherlands . .	582
Louis of Nassau obtains succours from France . .	583
Surprises Mons	583
Revolt of the province of Holland	584
Assembly of the States	586
Siege and reduction of Mons by Alva	587
Sack of Mechlin	589
Siege of Goes raised by the Gueux	590
Prince of Orange in Holland	590
Pillage of Zutphen	591
Massacre of Naarden	593
Siege of Haarlem	595
Siege of Alkmaar	604
Naval victory of the Gueux	605
Assembly of the States-General	606
Recall of Alva	607
His character	607
Cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Netherlands	608

HISTORY OF HOLLAND.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

On the Study of the History of Holland. Division of the History into Four Periods. Holland in the time of the Romans. Overrun by barbarians. Friezlanders. Introduction of Christianity. Foundation of the County by the Grant of Louis the Germanic. Invasion of the Danes. Grant of the Emperor Arnold. Theodore, the first Count.

THERE is scarcely any nation whose history has been so little understood, or so generally neglected as that of Holland, and none, perhaps, which better deserves the consideration of every thinking mind. To Englishmen, indeed, from the similarity of their commercial pursuits, of many of their institutions, of their municipal governments, and even of their habits and language, it may afford more practical instruction than almost any other. Nor is it utility alone that we might seek in its study; some of the higher and better feelings of our nature should arouse our sympathy with the destinies of Holland. Links the brightest and strongest, ties the most holy, woven by patriotism and hallowed by time, bind together these two great and enlightened nations; from England the light of the Christian religion first shone on Holland; from Holland, England imbibed her first ideas of civil liberty and commerce; with the Netherlands she made her first commercial treaty: side by side they have fought for all the dearest rights of mankind; side by side they have struggled against the tyranny of Spain, against the bigotry of the

Stuarts, against the ambition of the most powerful monarch of France*; when the clouds of despotism and superstition hung dark and louring over England, it was in William of Holland that she hailed her deliverer; when Holland writhed under the lash of Alva and the inquisition, she looked to England as her trust and consolation. Sometimes, indeed, national rivalry and commercial jealousy have arrayed them in hostility against each other, and Europe has beheld with wonder the Leviathans of the ocean contending for the mastery of their native deep. But this was of rare occurrence; whatever may have been the private interests of their princes, or the factions of their courts, the great body of the people generally continued firm in their mutual attachment; and if England has had cause to blush for her treatment of her sister nation, it has been only under the government of the most profligate or negligent of her rulers. There is, one might suppose, scarcely any class of men from whom the history of Holland may not claim some share of attention. The merchant should be curious to trace the rise of that people, whose activity and enterprize have carried their trading vessels to every quarter of the globe, who have planted industrious and successful colonies in every variety of climate and soil, whose skill in commerce and finance has rendered them the guide and instructor of the commercial world, and whose public integrity has through all ages stood so firm, that the most unexampled pressure of distress has never driven them to commit an act of national bankruptcy. To the statesman and philosopher the Dutch must be interesting, as a people who, without equal laws and wise institutions, could scarcely have supported a physical, much less a political existence. Since the soil,

* Louis XIV.

which with infinite cost and pains they have snatched from the ocean, is too poor and ungrateful to be worth the labour of cultivation*, they must, had it not been for those habits of active and patient industry which a free spirit alone engenders, either have deserted it entirely, or dwindled to a miserable race of fishers; whereas Holland has supported in happiness and abundance a greater number of inhabitants in proportion to the extent and capabilities of her territory than any other country of the world†. They must be interesting, as a people who, during ages when other nations presented little else but scenes of violence, bloodshed, and oppression, enjoyed for the most part entire personal security, and as much civil liberty as was perhaps consistent with the public safety. The Divine will remember, that the twilight of his protestant faith dawned upon the mind of an Erasmus, and that its meridian splendour shone upon the spirit of a Grotius: that Holland has never spared the arms of her soldiers, nor the blood of her martyrs, in its defence; and that the zeal with which she has cherished it, though sometimes kindled into fanaticism, has ever been pure, constant, and self-denying.

To such the history of Holland cannot but be a subject of interest, nor should the idler lover of literature and the arts smile with contempt upon a people, simple and uncourtly though they be, who have nursed among them a Vondel and a Rembrandt. But if there be yet left among us one patriot, in the old and true sense of the word,—one who loves his country,

* De Witt "Politike gronden, and Maximen van de Republike van Holland." Decl. 1, cap. 4 and 5. "They employ more men to repair the dykes, than all the corn in the province would maintain." Sir W. Temple's Observations on the United Provinces, chap. iii., p. 15.

† China can hardly be admitted as an exception, from our limited knowledge of the real number and condition of her population.

not for the wealth and honours she can bestow, but because she herself is great and free,—who can sympathize with his fellow men striving to obtain for their fatherland those blessings which his own enjoys; surely the blood of such an one must beat warm within him, as he contemplates the struggle made by this brave and noble people in defence of their religion and liberties, against the bigoted tyranny of Spain; a struggle unparalleled, unrivalled perhaps, in the annals of ancient or modern history,—protracted through forty years of sufferings under which the stoicism of Greece would have sunk, of deeds at which the heroism of Rome would have trembled,—maintained by a people whose spot of earth is so small as scarcely to deserve a place on the map of Europe, against a nation of boundless extent, of gigantic power, whose heart was strong with the blood of her chivalrous nobility, and into whose bosom the riches of the new world were pouring. And a throb of joy will respond in the breast of such a patriot, when he beholds the issue of the contest defy all human calculation, mock all human foresight; for once, the righteous and feeble cause triumphed; the haughty foe of Holland shrank cowering before her, and her strength withered from that hour: but *she* lay not panting and exhausted, a prey to the first spoiler; freed for ever from the yoke of her oppressor, she lifted her proud head from the waves, and stretched her mighty arms to the ends of the earth; the balance of Europe quivered at her nod, while Asia, Africa, and America laid their treasures at her feet. From her “place of pride” among nations Holland has now fallen; and in the history of her fall may be read an useful, though melancholy lesson to every free and commercial people, to be on the watch lest they mistake the heat of party spirit for the zeal of patriotism;

and lest they seek for national wealth as the end, and not as the means, of national greatness.

As the seven united provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, Groningen, Overysse, and Guelderland, formed in the early ages of their history four distinct and separate states, to follow out minutely the annals of each would cause the thread of the subject to be perpetually broken off, and by diverting the attention into so many channels, deprive it of any interest it might otherwise possess; and would moreover swell the work to such a magnitude as to render it unavailable to the general reader. This is the less necessary, as, with some difference of detail, the general features of the constitution and governments of the Netherland states bear so strong a similarity to each other, that a perfect acquaintance with one will give a tolerably clear insight into all. I shall therefore confine my observations principally to Holland and Zealand, which, during the period now under consideration, formed a state or county of itself; the Prince-bishop of Utrecht held that province, together with Groningen and Overysse, as a fief of the German empire, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Archbishop of Cologne in spiritual matters. Friezland will often present itself to our notice as a subject of contention between the Bishops of Utrecht and the Counts of Holland, and retaining its independence against both, under a "Podestato" of its own choosing. Guelderland formed a part of the empire of Germany until the year 1002, when the Emperor Henry II. made it a separate county, feudatory to the empire; Otho, the first count, coming into possession of Zutphen also, by his marriage with Sophia, heiress of that

county*. Guelderland was raised to a duchy in 1337, by Louis VII. of Bavaria, emperor of Germany.

The history of Holland thus divides itself into four periods: the first extending from the end of the ninth century, the time of its erection into a separate county, to the year 1428, when it became annexed to a great portion of the other states of the Netherlands, under Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy: the government of the princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria will form the second period, ending in 1579, when the union of Utrecht laid the foundation of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. It is here that the history of Holland has been generally considered to begin; and from this epoch it is supposed her birth as a free and commercial country is to be dated. No idea, however, can be more erroneous; Holland was no Pallas among nations, starting at once into vigour and maturity, exempt from the errors and trials of youth; it was not the mere act of revolt from Spain that made her a nation of heroes, statesmen, legislators, and merchants, such as we then find her. She had been formed by long years of experience, by long ages of endurance. The strength which enabled her to cope with a power so infinitely superior to her own, had been infused by continued enjoyment of equal laws, constitutional rights, and prescriptive franchises. It was not to enforce the fanciful theory of a constitution, not to create new rights, new laws, new liberties, that the Dutch threw off their allegiance to their sovereign; but to preserve those which they had been constantly asserting, and jealously defending, since the accession of the house of Burgundy, more than a hundred years before; and the war of independence was the end, not the beginning, of the con-

* Johan. à Leidis Chron. Belg., lib. xi., cap. 4.

test; the desperate extremity to which they were unwillingly driven by the obstinacy and cruelty of Philip II., not a scheme devised for their own aggrandizement. The separation of Holland from Spain involved but a slight change in her internal government, the essential principles of which had already existed for centuries; and though the extension of liberty obtained by this event did undoubtedly tend to the vast improvement of her commerce, yet it is equally certain, that after the decay of the Italian republics Holland excelled all the rest of the world except Flanders and Brabant, as well in commerce and navigation, as in agriculture and manufactures*. The union of Utrecht may therefore be properly considered as the commencement of the third period, which extends to the year 1747, when a radical change was effected in the constitution of Holland, then rendered monarchical in fact, though not in name, by the creation of a Stadtholderate, hereditary in the male and female line. The fourth short and mournful era is comprised between 1747 and 1795, when the provinces were subjugated by the arms of the French republic. During this time, but feeble and evanescent scintillations of the ancient Dutch spirit appear. The whole nation, divided into two factions, the Orange and Republican, sacrificed with one accord the welfare of the commonwealth to the rage of party spirit. Not a party spirit such as that by which the Dutch had formerly been swayed, prompting them too often to seek the advantage of their native province or town, to the detriment of the rest; yet, however mischievous in its effects, partaking somewhat of the nature of true patriotism—the more intense, perhaps, in proportion to the narrowness of the space within which it is con-

* Vide Note A, at the end.

fined—but a party spirit created by personal ambition, and supported by cupidity; the one side seeking to place arbitrary power in the hands of a sovereign, to be used for their sole benefit; the other forcing themselves into notoriety, by adopting the wild theories of popular government then coming into vogue; and both deviating equally widely from the traces of the old Dutch constitution. The one party aiming to increase the military force, rather to support a tyrannical authority over their fellow-citizens, than to protect them from foreign enemies; the other preferring to neglect the defences of their country, rather than risk throwing additional power into the hands of their adversaries. Thus enfeebled and tottering, Holland required no seer to foretell that her Ides were come. Prussia, England, and France, each struck a death-blow at her heart; but she covered herself with her robe as she fell;—science, the arts, and the venerable relics of her ancient institutions, veiled from human eyes the extremity of her degradation. The civilized world, her jealous rivals themselves, mourned over her fate; the Frenchman alone, as he trampled on her soil, smiled at her expiring agonies. Mocked with the name of an independent republic, deluded with the shadow of a free constitution, Holland found her treasury drained by French extortion, her commerce made subservient to French interests, and her government framed and changed according to the fanciful models of French politicians. With the invasion of the year 1795, therefore, her history closes; since she appears no more on the theatre of Europe as a free commonwealth. Her regeneration, as a limited monarchy, in 1813, is the beginning of a new æra, to be traced by the pen of some future historian. May it be worthy of that which is gone; and as the name of the Dutch

republic sounded glorious in the ears of our ancestors, so may the Dutch monarchy be held in honour and reverence by our latest posterity.

The province of Holland, bounded on the north and west by the German Ocean, on the south by the branch of the Rhine called the Waal, and on the east by the Zuyderzee and Utrecht, was, in the time of the Romans, inhabited by the Batavii, the Caninefates, the Marsaci, and the Frisiabones. The former possessed the country called Batavia, extending from Wyk te Duurstede to the Ocean, and from the Waal to the old mouth of the Rhine at Catwyk^a; bounded on the north by the present Kemmerland, inhabited by the Caninefates, a people of a like origin and language, equal in valour, and superior in numbers, to the Batavii^b. The Marsaci dwelt in that part of Holland known by the name of the Waterland; while the extreme north, or West Friezland, was the country of the Frisiabones^c. The ancient name of Zealand is uncertain^{*}; it is probably the country spoken of by Cæsar in these terms:—"The Rhine, which, as it approaches the sea, flows in different beds, forms many large islands, the greater number inhabited by wild and barbarous nations, some of whom, it is thought, subsist entirely on fish and the eggs of birds^d." The

^a Tacit. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 12.

^b Idem, cap. 14.

^c Boxborn Theatrum Urbium Hollandiæ, p. 22, 23, 25. Plinii Nat. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 29.

^d Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. iv., cap. 7.

^{*} The Zealanders are by some supposed to have been the Mattiaci, and are so called by De Thou and other modern Latin historians; but this appears to be an error, since we are informed by Tacitus (Ann., lib. xi., cap. 20), that Curtius Rufus opened a mine in Mattiacum in search of silver, which would have been impossible in Zeeland, where the water is, in most parts, within a very few feet of the surface.

Batavii were originally a portion of the Catti, who, being driven from their country, in consequence of domestic dissensions, formed, on the desert shores of the Rhine, a separate and independent nation, retaining the religion, government, and customs, of their ancestors, and in nowise degenerating from the high courage or the vigour of intellect which distinguished the Catti above all the other people of Germany^e.

They worshipped the Deity under the semblance of the sun, moon, and fire, and deemed it an offence against his majesty to represent him in the likeness of a human figure, or to dedicate to him temples made with hands, for which reason they consecrated woods and groves to his service. The Romans afterwards introduced among them the adoration of Mercury, Hercules, and Mars; to the former of these they offered human sacrifices^f. They placed unbounded faith in oracles, divinations, and auspices: the tender branches of fruit-trees, the flight and voice of birds, and the neighing of horses, kept for the purpose in sacred groves, milk white, and exempt from labour, were all presages of coming events; nor did they dare to engage in any undertaking, unless the omens they afforded were favourable. Still greater influence was exercised over their actions by certain noble virgins, whom they regarded as gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and held in almost religious veneration; and whose counsel they invariably asked and followed upon all occasions of importance^g.

The government of the Batavii, like that of the other nations of Germany, was a monarchy of the most limited kind; the king was elected in a general

^e Tacit. de Mor. Germ., cap. 29, 30.

^f Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. vi., cap. 19. Tacit. de Mor., cap. 9.

^g Tacit. de Mor., cap. 8, 10. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 61.

assembly of the people, which, likewise, was alone competent to the decision of all the more important affairs of state, those of less consequence being administered by the king, in conjunction with the nobility^b. The people generally singled out one distinguished by the nobility of his birth to be their king, and proclaimed their choice by elevating him on a shield, and carrying him through the camp on men's shouldersⁱ. The people attended the general assemblies, held for the most part at the new and full moon, in arms, (without which, indeed, they rarely met together, either for purposes of business or pleasure,) when silence being commanded by the priests, such questions as required their consideration, and had been previously discussed in the council of the nobility, were proposed by the king, or some noble distinguished either for wisdom or valour; the approval of the assembly was signified by the clashing of arms: but if murmurs were heard instead, the measure in question was rejected^k. The decisions, made in the evening, when feasting and wine had inspired their debates with freedom and energy, were reviewed the next morning, that they might be tempered with coolness and prudence^l. These assemblies, also, had the power of trying capital crimes, and of appointing magistrates, who administered the laws in the villages and districts, with the assistance of a hundred men chosen out of the people in each district^m.

The generals (duces), like the kings, were elected; but with this difference, that in the choice of them, reputation for valour was considered before nobility of birth; the soldiers rather following their example, than obeying their command. In battle they arranged

^b Tacit de Mor., cap. 7, 11.

ⁱ Idem, cap. 7; Hist., lib. iv., cap. 15.

^k Tacit. de Mor., cap. 11.

^l Idem. cap. 22.

^m Idem, cap. 12.

themselves, not promiscuously, according to the custom of barbarous nations, but in companies, formed of such as were united by the ties of kindred or friendship^a. The youths, when of age to assume arms, were brought by their fathers, or some other near relatives, into the assembly of the people, and there solemnly invested with the shield and spear; from that time they were considered no longer as part of the paternal household, but as members of the state. The one among them whose ancestors were of the highest rank, or most celebrated by warlike renown, became chief over the rest; to whom, however, he gave no other stipend than a present, from time to time, of a war-horse, or a blood-stained and victorious spear^o. It was an object of pride and ambition among the chiefs to be surrounded with the greatest number and bravest of these companions, since they were not only held in honour on this account by their countrymen, but their friendship was courted with gifts, and embassies from neighbouring nations. In the field of battle, the chief dreaded the disgrace of being excelled in valour by his companions, while eternal infamy rested upon such of the latter as survived him, or retreated from the combat without their shield: they were never afterwards allowed to take a part in the assemblies of the people, or to be present at the ceremonies of religion; and many were found to prefer a voluntary death to this degradation^p. As a still further incentive to valour, they were accustomed to leave their hair and beards uncut, till they had distinguished themselves by the slaughter of an enemy. Some wore an iron collar about their necks, until released

^a Tacit. de Mor., cap. 7; Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. vi., cap. 21.

^o Tacit. de Mor., cap. 13, 14.

^p Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. vi., cap. 21; Tacit. de Mor., 6, 14, 34.

from it by a like exploit^a. Despising agriculture and the arts of peace, the Batavii, like the rest of the Germans, had no individual property in land, the magistrates allotting to each family yearly a sufficient quantity for their support; the cultivation of which was left to the aged and women^r. Wholly ignorant of literature, their only public amusement was a species of war-dance, of which the chief excellence consisted in the agility and dexterity displayed by the youths in leaping into the midst of clashing swords and pointed spears, and extricating themselves unharmed^s.

The men, when not engaged in war, spent the greater portion of their time in drinking and gambling; the latter vice they carried to such an excess, that they frequently staked their personal liberty on the cast of the die, and the loser voluntarily became the slave of the winner^t. Domestic slavery was, however, unknown among them; the menial offices of their household being performed by their wives and children. The slave was bound only to pay his master yearly a measure of corn, a garment, or a portion of his flocks: he might, however, be slain with impunity, though such a case rarely occurred, and was then rather the effect of sudden passion than of deliberate cruelty^u. The custom of polygamy prevailed, but to a very small extent; the highest nobility only being allowed to have more than one wife: at the time of marriage, a pair of oxen, a war-horse fully caparisoned, a shield, sword, and spear were given by the bridegroom to his spouse; and these presents denoted that she was henceforth to be the sharer of his labours and dangers, both in peace and

^a Tacit. de Mor., cap. 31; Hist., lib. iv., cap. 61.

^r Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. vi., cap. 20; Tacit. de Mor., cap. 15, 26.

^s Tacit. de Mor., 19, 24.

^t Idem, cap. 24.

^u Idem, cap. 25.

war^v. Their children, exposed naked to all the vicissitudes of the weather, until of an age to bear arms, grew up tall, strong, and active, so as to excite the wonder and admiration of the Romans^w. The general dress, both of the men and women, consisted merely of a cloak made of the skins of beasts, fastened round the waist with a buckle or a thorn^x. Their food was principally flesh, curdled milk, and wild apples; their drink, beer or wine^y. Both women and children always accompanied their husbands and fathers to the field of battle: the former encouraged the combatants by their cries, attended them when wounded, administered to them food and refreshment during the fight, and often, by their exhortations and remonstrances, induced them to renew the contest when inclined to yield^z.

The Romans never attempted the conquest of this hardy race of warriors*, who, besides the indomitable love of liberty inherent in the nations of Germany^a, possessed, in the situation and nature of their country, advantages which would have rendered it difficult, if not impossible. They chose rather to make with them an alliance, equally profitable to both nations. The Batavii, honoured with the title of friends and allies of the Roman empire, obtained its countenance and support against their restless and predatory neighbours;

^v Tacit. de Mor., cap. 18.

^w Pompon. Mela, lib. iii., cap. 3; Tacit. de Mor., cap. 20.

^x Idem, cap. 17.

^y Idem, cap. 23.

^z Idem, cap. 7, 8.

^a Idem, cap. 37.

* Zozimus indeed reckons Batavia as part of the Roman empire, (lib. iii., cap. 6,) but the testimony of a Greek, writing in the fifth century, cannot be put in competition with that of Tacitus, who expressly says, that it was not tributary, (De Mor., cap. 29; Hist., lib. iv., cap. 12,) and always speaks of it as an independent state. The Greek author probably drew the conclusion from the presence of Batavian cohorts in the imperial army.

and the fleets, which were employed to convey the Roman legions to Germany, being stationed for the most part in the Rhine and Zuyderzee*, and not unfrequently equipped in the island, were the means of introducing wealth and some of the arts and luxuries of civilized life among them^b; while exempt from every species of tribute, they were bound only to supply men and arms to the Romans in their wars^c; a condition fulfilled with alacrity by a people to whom peace was so insupportable, that they were accustomed to mingle voluntarily in the contests of foreign nations^d. The Romans, on their side, gained a body of valuable auxiliaries to their camp; a well-appointed cavalry, at once active and powerful, possessing in perfection the rare and valuable art of swimming across broad and deep rivers without breaking their ranks^e; and an infantry renowned alike for their skill in archery^f, their capability of enduring fatigue, and their rapidity in forming the close wedge-shaped battalion, which, presenting on each side a front to the enemy, protected the army in the flank and rears. The Batavian cohorts bore no small share in the victories obtained by the Roman arms^h, while their courage and fidelity procured them the distinction of forming a body guard around the person of the emperorⁱ.

These friendly relations did not, however, always continue uninterrupted. During the contests for the empire between Otho and Vitellius, the Batavian

^b Tacit. Annal., lib. ii., cap. 6.

^c Tacit. de Mor., cap. 29.

^d Idem, cap. 14.

^e Tacit. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 12.

^f Suidas apud Junium, cap. 6, p. 91.

^g Tacit. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 20.

^h Idem, lib. ii., cap. 28.

Sueton. in Cal., cap. 43.

* Lacum Flevum.

auxiliaries feeling their own importance, and proud of the influence they exercised over the destinies of Rome, treated the legions with contempt and disdain, and broke out into sedition against the Roman general^k. On the other hand, the officers appointed by Vitellius to levy recruits in Batavia, exercised their office with such circumstances of iniquity and extortion, as provoked the irritable inhabitants to hostilities^l. A long and dangerous war, which had well nigh overthrown the Roman power in Germany, proved that the Batavii were no less formidable enemies than they had been faithful and useful allies: both sides becoming at length weary of the contest, the Batavii consented to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman General Cerealis^m. We have no account of the peace which was concluded on this occasion, but it appears to have restored the mutual good understanding between the two nations, since several cohorts of Batavian auxiliaries afterwards served in the wars of Britain under Agricola, and mainly contributed towards the celebrated victory obtained by that general over the Picts, near the Grampian hillsⁿ.

On the decline of the Roman empire, Batavia, as well as the rest of Europe, was overrun by hordes of barbarians; the Salian Franks^{*}, the Quadi^o, the Sclavi, and Wilts^p, successively made themselves masters of the soil, and exterminated the greater portion of the original inhabitants, while such as remained

^k Tacit. Hist., lib. i., cap. 59; lib. ii., cap. 27, 29.

^l Idem, lib. iv., cap. 14.

^m Idem, lib. iv., cap. 15, and seq.; lib. v., cap. 23, 26.

ⁿ Tacit. in Agric., cap. 36, 38.

^o Zozimus, lib. iii., cap. 6.

^p Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, cap. 14, p. 663.

^{*} Being destitute of vessels, these invaders were accustomed to cross the Rhine, when frozen over, on foot. Eumenii Panegy. in Constan., cap. 6, No. 4.

either mingled with their conquerors, or took refuge in distant settlements; and from the fifth century the name of this "renowned island" disappears from the page of history.

It fell finally into the possession of the Friezlanders^{r*}, a people closely resembling the Batavii in every respect; and I have given this slight sketch of their constitution and manners, from the admirable description left us by Tacitus, (although not within the scope of my design,) because we shall find, both among them and the Hollanders, traces of the customs of their ancestors, preserved to a very late period of time.

After the fall of Rome, Friezland, before tributary to the Roman empire, became an independent kingdom, or duchy, including within its boundaries the whole or greater portion of the United Provinces. It was invaded in 692 by Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace to Dagobert II., king of Austrasia, and from this time may be dated the first attempts towards the establishment of Christianity in Friezland, the only object of interest to the historian during these dark and barbarous ages. Pepin, having defeated the King Radbod in several battles, and expelled him from hither Friezland†, invited over from England, Willebrord, a Northumbrian priest, to preach Christianity 694 there; his choice having fixed on him on account of the similarity of the language spoken by the

* Pliny, lib. iv., cap. 29, "nobilissima insula."

^r Grotius de Antiquitate Reip. Batav., cap. 4.

* We find also Britons and Angles inhabiting Batavia, the former having probably taken refuge there from the hostility of the Picts and Scots; the latter may, perhaps, have accompanied the expedition of Hengist and Horsa to England, and remained there, instead of crossing the sea with their companions. Procop., lib. iv.

† West of the Zuyderzee.

English and Friezlanders^{*.} The Friezlanders having again relapsed into idolatry, Wolfram, Archbishop of Sens, under the government of Charles Martel, son
728 and successor of Pepin, undertook a mission for the purpose of reclaiming them; his ministry was attended with considerable success, and he had even persuaded their King Radbod himself to receive baptism. Radbod had already one foot in the font prepared for the occasion, and the archbishop was about to begin the ceremony, when he suddenly asked whether his ancestors were among the blessed in heaven, or had gone down into hell? Wolfram answered, that since they had died heathens, they were undoubtedly among the damned. "I will not then," said Radbod, withdrawing his foot from the font, "forsake my friends who are in hell, to dwell with a few Christians in heaven." A miracle followed, as of course; Radbod died on the third day, and "went whither his ancestors had gone before him[†]." Numbers of the Friezlanders, terrified by the example of his fate, became converts to Christianity[‡]. Poppo, the successor of Radbod, again revolted, but was defeated and slain by Charles,
735 and the whole of Friezland made tributary to France[§].

The entire conversion of the Friezlanders to Christianity, however, was not yet accomplished; the inhabitants of the present province cruelly mur-

^{*} Melis Stoke, Monk of the Abbey of Egmond in Holland, boek i., bl. 14—21. Bede, Hist. Eccles., lib. v., cap. 10.

[†] Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 23—26.

[‡] Johan. à Leid., Chron. Belg., lib. i., cap. 23.

[§] Johan. à Leid., lib. iii., cap. 4. Velly, Hist. de Fr., tom. i., p. 334.

^{*} So late as the sixteenth century, the dialect of Friezland bore more resemblance to English, than to that of any other province; Guicciardini, Des. Belg., tom. ii., p. 288 (duod.), and even at the present time an acquaintance with the Dutch language, which has, indeed, sustained comparatively but little alteration, will be found an excellent glossary to our old poets.

dered St. Boniface, bishop of Utrecht, a zealous preacher of the gospel among them^v; but before the 752 end of the eighth century, Charlemagne finally united the whole kingdom to the Christian Church. The last King Gundebold, grandson of Radbod, was slain in the famous expedition of this monarch against the Saracens in Spain; and from that time, Friezland was governed by counts and dukes^{*} appointed by the emperor, and afterwards by his son Louis le Debonnaire^x. On the division of the empire made after the death of 843 Louis, between his three sons, Lothaire, Louis the Germanic, and Charles, surnamed the Bald, Louis received that portion of the Netherlands which lies on the right of the Rhine, while the provinces between that river and the Meuse and Scheldt, were allotted to the Emperor Lothaire^y. The situation of these countries rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the incursions of the Danes or Normans, for three centuries the terror and scourge of Europe; and it was probably with the view of erecting a barrier against their assaults, that Louis the Germanic 868 granted to Theodore, one of the counts in Friezland, and to his heirs, the forest of Wasda^z†. The Danes,

^v Beka Chron. Ultraject., p. 16.

^x Johan. à Leid., lib. iv., cap. 22. Annales Metensis, ad ann. 735, 736.

^y Nithard. Hist., lib. iv., ad ann. 843.

^z Miræi Cod. Don. Pia., tom. i., p. 33, cap. 23.

^{*} The counts at this time were officers appointed during pleasure by the sovereigns, to administer justice and superintend military affairs in the cities and provinces, a certain number of whom were placed under the authority of one duke. Many of the dukes and counts rendered their power hereditary, and independent under the successors of Charlemagne in France and Germany. Du Cange, in *Comites et Duces*.

† It is now impossible to ascertain where this land was situated: it is by some thought to have been the island of Walcheren; but that island, lying between the Meuse and Scheldt, formed part of the kingdom of Lorraine, allotted to Lothaire, and appears not to have been in the possession of Louis until after the division of the kingdom between himself

however, continued to harass Friezland as before, sometimes plundering the country, and levying heavy contributions on the inhabitants; sometimes making transient settlements there, and forcing the sovereigns to surrender to them possession of different portions of it. Charles III. of France, surnamed the Fat, having become master of the whole of the empire of Charlemagne, found himself obliged to purchase their absence from Germany by the gift of a large sum of money, 883 and the cession of the whole of Friezland to Godfrey, their king^a, by which act, Gerlof, the son of Count Theodore, became a subject of the Dane. The death of 885 Godfrey, who was treacherously assassinated, two years after, by order of Charles^b, restored Gerlof to his allegiance under the Emperor of Germany, and he received from Arnold, successor to the empire, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, the lands lying 889 between the Rhine and Zuithardershage^{c*}. Gerlof was the father of that Theodore whom the Hollanders reckon as their first count, probably because he was the first who possessed the monastery of Egmond, whence nearly all the documents relating to their early history

^a Chron. St. Pantaleonis apud Eccard, tom. i., p. 873.

^b Annal. Sax. Col., tom. i., p. 222, 223.

^c Miræi Cod. Don. Pia., tom. i., Dip., p. 34, cap. 24.

and Charles the Bald, in 869, when two-thirds of what was then called Friezland (*i. e.*, all the Netherlands east of the Meuse), fell to the former. Nevertheless, in a subsequent dispute between the counts of Holland and Flanders (1045), concerning the possession of Walcheren, the former founds his claim upon this grant.—Meyer Chron. Fland., lib. ii., ad ann. 1007. Others have supposed that it was the present Waasland; but this belonged, not to Louis, but to Charles the Bald, who did in fact grant the town of Tempst (the present Temsche,) in that country, to a monastery of Blandinian monks.—Miræi Donat. Belg., tom. i., p. 349. It may probably have been that part of Holland which is now covered by the Bies Bosch.

* The exact situation of Zuithardershage is unknown: by the Rhine, is meant the old mouth of that river at Catwyk.

are drawn. From him, the line of succession, and the thread of history, continue unbroken. It is, however, as yet, to an apparently insignificant object that I have to solicit the attention of my readers; and the annals left us by the old chroniclers are, moreover, dry and meagre; but it is necessary, if we would rightly understand our subject, to examine the nucleus around which this mighty nation formed itself; we must trace, in the humble acorn, the image of the lordly oak which is one day to spring from its heart; and it may not perhaps be wholly uninteresting to watch the yet feeble state, struggling to defend her narrow boundary on the one side from the ocean, at once her tyrant and benefactor—now swallowing up the earth from under her feet, now bringing health and abundance into her bosom;—on the other, from restless and ambitious foes, jealous that the patient industry of her people should be able to counterbalance the superior advantages of climate and situation which they enjoyed. By no boon of nature, by no favours of fortune, did Holland rise to greatness: inch by inch she has had to fight for the soil whereon to raise her trophies of victory, her monuments of glory!

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Theodore I. Grant of Charles the Simple. Church at Egmond. Death of Theodore. Theodore II. Rebellion of the West Friezlanders. County made hereditary by Otho III. Church and Altar at Egmond. Death of Theodore. Arnold slain by the West Friezlanders. Theodore III. Irruption of the Normans. Origin and Rise of the Bishopric of Utrecht. War between Holland and Utrecht. Accommodation between the Count and the Bishop. Pilgrimage and death of Theodore. Theodore IV. Dissensions between Holland and Flanders. The Five Islands of the Scheldt. War between the Emperor and Bishop of Utrecht and the Count of Holland. Invasion of Holland by the Emperor. His retreat. War with Liege and Cologne. Death of Theodore. Florence I. Alliance of Utrecht against Holland. War, and Defeat of the Allies. Florence surprised and killed. Theodore V. Guardianship of his mother. Her second marriage. War with Flanders and the King of France—with Utrecht. Godfrey of Lorraine takes possession of Holland. Theodore recovers his States. Friezland granted to the Bishopric. Death of Theodore. Florence II. Crusades. Pacific disposition of Florence. Alliance with the Empire. Death and Character of Florence. Heresy. Theodore VI. Alliance with Germany. Grant of Friezland. Disputes between Theodore and his brother. Influence of the Clergy at the Imperial Court. Its effects on Holland. War with Utrecht. Mode of defence adopted by the Bishop. Peace. Colonization from Holland. Death of Theodore. Florence III. Hostilities with Flanders. Marriage. Treaty with Utrecht. Overflowing of the Rhine. Renewal of Hostilities with Flanders. Defeat and Imprisonment of Florence. Release. Treaty made on the occasion. Revolt of the West Friezlanders. Flood. Crusade. Florence dies at Antioch. Coinage. Theodore VII. Wars with Flanders and West Friezland. Theodore victorious in both. Conduct of the Bishop of Utrecht in Friezland. War with Utrecht and Brabant. Imprisonment and Death of Theodore.

THEODORE I*.—To the lands which this count already held, Charles IV. of France, surnamed the Simple, added the abbey of Egmond†, with its depend-

* Vide Note B at the end of the volume.

† Situated near Alkmaar.

encies, from Zuithardershage to Kinnem*. Charles 913 had entered into possession of the kingdom of Lorraine, in which this territory was situate, after the death of the Emperor Louis III., the last descendant of Charlemagne in Germany^a. By the cession which this prince made to the Emperor Henry I. of the whole 924 kingdom of Lorraine, these lands, as well as the remainder which Count Theodore possessed, became a fief of Germany^b. Nothing further is known of Theodore, than that he built a church of wood at Egmond, dedicated to St. Adelbert†, and founded there a convent of nuns^c. The time of his death is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have occurred in the year 923^d.

THEODORE II.—Hardly had Theodore established himself in the government after the death of his father, when he was obliged to march against his rebellious subjects in West Friezland, whom he overcame, and forced to return to obedience^e. He had by his wife, Hildegarde, two sons, of whom the younger, Egbert, became archbishop of Treves, and the elder, Arnold, married Luitgarde, sister of Theofana, the wife of Otho II., emperor of Germany‡. The Empress Theofana, after 983

* Ann. Sax. Col., tom. i., p. 240.

^b Idem, 248.

^c Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 54.

^d Herman. Corn. Chron. Col., tom. ii., p. 517.

^e Johan à Leid., lib. vii., cap. 2.

* A stream in Kennemerland. Miræi Cod. Don. Pia., tom. i., p. 35, cap. 26.

† St. Adelbert was an Englishman, and archdeacon of the see of Utrecht, under Willebrord, the Northumbrian, the first bishop. Chron. Egmond., cap. 1, 2.

‡ She is said to be the sister of Theofana by all the early historians, but as the Greek Emperor Romanus, father of the latter, had only two daughters, Theofana and Anne, married to the Czar of Muscovy, (Gibbon Decl. and Fall, &c., vol. viii., p. 373,) it is not improbable that Luitgarde, particularly as it is a Saxon and not a Greek name, might have been the

the death of her husband, and during the minority of her son, Otho III., enjoyed a large share in the administration of the empire; and her alliance with the family of the Count of Holland, induced her to use her influence over the mind of the young emperor, to obtain for Theodore a grant of all those states as an hereditary fief which he had hitherto enjoyed in usufruct only*. In this grant were comprehended the lands lying between the Lauwers (Liore,) and Yssel†; a village, then known by the name of Zonnemare‡; the territory between the streams of Medemblick§ and Chimeloes, or Gemarcha||, Kemmerland, Texel, and Maasland, with the reservation of the tribute, commonly called “Huuslade¶.” By this grant the hereditary succession to the county was placed on a secure and permanent footing, and from it, perhaps, might more properly be dated the commencement of its existence as a separate and independent state**. The Hollanders must at this time have made some progress in wealth and the arts, since we are told that Theodore rebuilt the church of St. Adelbert of stone; a work of no mean importance in a country wholly destitute of materials for such a purpose, and where, from the nature of the ground, considerable skill must have been required to make a secure foundation for a building of any solidity. He also presented,

daughter of the empress; the son of Arnold is called grandson of the Empress Theofana, (Ann. Sax., col. i., p. 450,) and Luitgarde, sister of the wife of Henry II. Idem Ibid. 403. Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 73.

* Vide du Cange, in Feudum et Beneficium.

† Not the river in Friesland, but that to the south of Holland, on which Ysselmonde is situate.

‡ In Zealand.

§ In West Friesland.

|| In the present province of Friesland.

¶ A duty upon every house, payable to the sovereign. Johan. à Leid., lib. vii., cap. 26. Miræi Diplomata., tom. i., p. 52, cap. 41.

** The tribute, Huuslade, appears to have been ere long discontinued, though we have no evidence as to the exact time that it was so.

after its completion, an altar of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones, with a volume of the Gospels likewise ornamented with jewels and gold^f. He died in 988, within a month after his wife Hildegarde, and was buried with her under one monument in the church which he had built at Egmond^g.

ARNOLD.—The grant of Otho III. rendered it unnecessary that Arnold should obtain the emperor's confirmation of his authority, and the succession henceforward passed in the regular line, without any intervention of the imperial sovereignty, nor did the emperors ever interfere in the slightest degree in the internal government of the county; in process of time, indeed, the counts of Holland so far freed themselves from the ties of feudal allegiance, that it became at length a matter of dispute whether or not Holland owed fealty to the empire at all. Arnold's short reign of five years was spent in continual warfare with his rebellious subjects of West Friezland, by whom he was slain in a battle fought near the village of Winkelhⁱ. He left 933 two sons, of whom the younger Siward, or Sigefrid, is said to have been the founder of the noble and illustrious house of Brederode^j.

THEODORE III. succeeded his father when only twelve years of age, the government being administered during his minority by his mother Luitgarde^j. 1010 In the year 1010 the Normans again made an irruption into Friezland, defeated the Hollanders who opposed their passage, and advanced as far as Utrecht; but either from veneration for the episcopal see, or from

^f Miræi Dip., tom. i., p. 71, cap. 61. Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 65, et seq.

^g Johan. à Leid., lib. vii., cap. 28.

^h Idem, lib. viii., cap. 1, 6.

ⁱ Idem, lib. viii., cap. 3.

^j Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 99.

esteem for the sanctity of the Bishop Ansfrid, they retired without committing any injury on the city: the Utrechters themselves set fire to the houses along the quay, lest the enemy might make use of them to besiege the citadel^k. This is the last time we hear of any invasion by the Normans of either Holland or Friezland: they began about this period to establish themselves in Italy^l, and attracted by her fertile fields and rich wines, henceforward left unmolested the cold and marshy shores of the Netherlands. The reign of Theodore was continually disturbed by hostilities with Athelbald, bishop of Utrecht; and as he and his successors will, for a series of years, appear often as enemies, and sometimes, though rarely, as allies of the Counts of Holland, a few observations on the origin and rise of this bishopric may not be misplaced.

In the early part of the seventh century, Dagobert, first king of Austrasia, having conquered Utrecht* from the Friezlanders, founded there a Christian church: but the greater portion of the inhabitants being still heathens, and the Friezlanders again taking possession of the town, it was some time after destroyed^m. In the year 719, Willebrord, the Northumbrian priest before mentioned as being enjoined by Pepin Heristal to preach the gospel in Friezland, and who in 696 had been created by the Pope Archbishop of Friezland, fixed the seat of his bishopric at Utrecht, where he built a church and monasteryⁿ. Charles Martel, mayor

^k Alpertus de Div. Temporum, Col. tom. i., lib. i., cap. 9, 10.

^l Sismondi Hist. des Rep. Ital., tom. ii., p. 266.

^m Vide Letter of St. Boniface to Pope Stephen, in Miræi Cod. Don. Pla., tom. i., cap. 10, p. 13, 14.

ⁿ Hist. Wil. Hedæ in Willebrordo, p. 25; Bede Hist. Ecc., lib. v., cap. 11.

* Antonina in the time of the Romans: it was afterwards called Wiltenburg by the Wilts, a nation of Sclavi, who formed a settlement there. The name of Trajectum, or Utrecht, was given to it by Dagobert.

of the palace to Thierri IV., king of Austrasia, granted to the Church, in 722, all the royal domains and privileges in and around Utrecht, with several other rich estates^o: and after the death of Gerolf of Friezland, father of the first Count of Holland, Odilbald, bishop of Utrecht, obtained for his church from Zwentibold, king of Lorraine, (son of the Emperor Arnold,) the sixth part of the fishery at the mouth of the Rhine, which Gerolf had before enjoyed, and the third of nearly all the royal tolls and customs in Kemmerland and West Friezland*, to the Texel^p. In the year 937, the Emperor Otho I. of Germany granted to Baldric, then bishop of Utrecht, the privilege of coining money, and bestowed on him the land lying between Gouda and Schoonhoven, and the tolls at Muyden on the Vecht^q. By Ansfrid, predecessor of the present bishop, the domain of Utrecht had been enriched by the addition of Teisterband, (an ancient county, extending from Wyk te Duurstede to the old Meuse^r,) and thus brought close to the territories of the Counts of Holland, over the whole of which, likewise, the Church of Utrecht had a spiritual jurisdiction; and this furnished the bishops with a pretext for laying claim to the temporal sovereignty of the county^s. Hence arose disputes of a nature easily exasperated into hostilities. On the present occasion, the Bishop Athelbald had encouraged his vassal, Theodore Bavo, margrave of that part of his diocese which bordered on the county of Holland, in his attempts to extend his authority within the confines

^o Miræi Don Belg., lib. ii., cap. 3; Dipl., tom. i., p. 491.

^p Heda in Odilbald, p. 65, 66.

^q Heda in Bald, p. 81—87.

^r Miræi Dip., p. 262, 263; Heda in Ansfrid, p. 94, 95.

^s Miræi Dip. passim, tom. iv., p. 373, 445; Boxhorn Theat, Urb. Holl., cap. 3, p. 29.

* The northern part of the province of Holland.

of Count Theodore's territories^t. Theodore compelled Bavo to evacuate Bodegrave, of which he had possessed himself, and in order to provide a barrier against the
 1015 encroachments of this restless neighbour, he built and fortified the celebrated town of Dordrecht^u, which became, and long remained, the capital of the county, and ever afterwards held the first rank in the assembly of the States. Here he levied tolls upon all vessels passing up or down the Waal. This excited great discontent among the merchants, particularly those of Tiel, who earnestly petitioned the emperor to release them from the exactions of the Count of Holland, representing, that otherwise they would be forced to discontinue their trade to England, and consequently should be unable to pay him their accustomed tribute^v. These complaints, supported by the influence of the Bishop of Utrecht, had so great weight with the emperor, that he commanded Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, to assist the bishop in expelling Theodore from the fortress of Dordrecht. Godfrey, in obedience to his orders, assembled a large body of troops, and accompanied by the Bishops of Cologne, Cambray, Liege, and Utrecht, with their forces, landed at Vlaerdingen on the Merwe, at that time the residence of the Counts of Holland. In the engagement which ensued, an event, as singular as unexpected, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the Hollanders, and saved the infant state from the destruction which appeared inevitable: the battle was at the hottest, and the Hollanders were defending themselves bravely, but almost hopelessly, against superior numbers, when suddenly a voice was heard crying, "Fly, fly." None

^t Beka Chron. Ultra in Adelb., p. 37.

^u Van Loon Aloude Holl. Hist., 2 decl., bl. 272.

^v Alpert. de Div. Tem. Col., tom. i., lib. ii., cap. 20.

could tell from whence the sound proceeded, and it was therefore interpreted by the troops of Lorraine, as a warning from Heaven^v: their rout was instantaneous and complete; nearly the whole of the foot soldiers belonging to the Bishops of Liege and Cambray were slain: numbers, in their eagerness to escape, were 1018 drowned in the Merwe, and the shore is said to have been strewn with dead bodies for the space of nearly two miles. The Bishop of Utrecht, with a few followers, saved themselves by flight; and the Duke of Lorraine remained a prisoner in the hands of Theodore, who shortly after released him, in order that he might negotiate a reconciliation with the emperor^x. Under his mediation, the bishop, finding himself destitute of allies, was reluctantly brought to terms of accommodation^y; and the Count of Holland afterwards held the disputed territory of Bodegrave, Merwede, and Zwammerdam, as a feudatory of the bishop^z. The miseries of this war were supposed to have been foretold by the appearance of a comet, which had excited great terror a short time previously². Theodore concluded his long and troubled reign of thirty-four years, by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he died soon after his 1039 return, and was buried in the church of Egmond, leaving behind him a high reputation for valour and

^v Beka in Adelbold, p. 38.

^x Alpert. de Div. Temp., lib. ii., cap. 21.

^y Annal. Sax., col. 1, p. 450.

^z Alpert. de Div. Temp., lib. ii., cap. 19.

* He became a "liber feudalis" or free Feuar of Utrecht, (i. e., one who acknowledged feudal superiority only,) and as such obtained a right to vote in the election of the bishop, (Heda, p. 114.) The right which vassalage gave of voting in the election of abbots, and bishops, rendered even the most powerful temporal sovereigns desirous of holding fiefs under them. Thus the Emperor Frederick I. obtained the charge of Grand Seneschal to the church of Bamberg, in respect of some lands he held in the Palatinate. Schmidt, Hist. des Allemandes, tom. iv., p. 84, 165.

ability^a. He had two sons by his wife -Ottihilda, daughter of the Duke of Saxony, Theodore and Florence, of whom the eldest succeeded him^b.

THEODORE IV.—In the reign of this prince began the first of a long series of dissensions between the counts of Holland and Flanders*, concerning the possession of Walcheren, and the other islands of Zeeland, west of the Scheld. The Flemings claimed these territories in virtue of a grant made by the
 1007 Emperor Henry II. to Baldwin IV., surnamed Longbeard, count of Flanders, while the Hollanders insisted on a prior right, conferred by the gift of Louis the Germanic, in the year 868, to Theodore, the first count of Holland^c. Baldwin, fifth son and successor of Baldwin Longbeard, undertook a hostile expedition into Friezland, for the purpose of forcing Theodore to
 1045 resign his claims to Walcheren; but no further particulars of the war are given, than that Baldwin returned victorious, and without loss, to Flanders^d. It was attended, however, with evil consequences to Holland; since the Bishop of Utrecht, taking advantage of the embarrassment it occasioned to Theodore, induced the Emperor Henry III. to lend him his assistance in regaining possession of those lands about the Merwe and Rhine, of which, he maintained that

^a Beka in Bernulph, p. 39; Johan. à Leid, lib. ix., cap. 16

^b Melis Stoke, boek i., p. 99.

^c Meyer Annales Flandrenses, lib. ii., ad ann. 1007, p. 22.

^d Idem, ad ann. 1045, lib. iii., p. 24.

* Flanders was erected into a county in the year 863, by Charles II., or Bald, king of France, in favour of Baldwin Forester of Flanders, who had married his daughter Judith; it was constantly held as a fief of France. The term Flemings, which has been indiscriminately applied to all the inhabitants of the Netherlands, is here, to avoid confusion, confined to those of Flanders only. When the people of the different states of the low countries are spoken of collectively, the word Netherlanders is used.

Count Theodore III. had unjustly deprived his predecessor. The emperor, at the head of a numerous army, sailed down the river from Utrecht to Dordrecht, which he forced to surrender, as well as the towns of Vlaardingen, and Rhynsburg, in Delftland. He was 1047 not able long to retain these places, for Theodore having formed an alliance with Godfrey of Lorraine, overran and devastated the bishopric of Utrecht, while Godfrey made himself master of the imperial city of Nimeguen; and the emperor's army was forced to evacuate Delftland, from the overflowing of the Meuse, which rendered it impossible for the troops to remain in their encampments^o. The force of the floods, also, having broken down the dyke which confined the bed of the river, it extended itself so widely as to become too shallow to admit of the passage of the emperor's ships, which being embarrassed in the mud, were easily mastered by the Hollanders in their light flat-bottomed boats, contrived purposely for this sort of navigation^f. The emperor was, therefore, obliged to retreat over-land to Utrecht, pursued by Theodore and a small band of troops, who so harassed the rear of his army, that Henry with difficulty succeeded in reaching the city in safety^g. His departure left Theodore at liberty to regain possession of all the territory he had lost, which, however, he was not destined to enjoy long in peace. In a tournament held the following year at Liege, having accidentally 1048 inflicted a mortal wound on the brother of Herman, archbishop of Cologne, the followers of the archbishop, together with those of the Bishop of Liege, immediately attacked the Hollanders, and slew, among many

^o Lambertus Aschaffenburgensis, ad ann. 1047.

^f Herman. Contract., ad ann. 1047.

^g Hermannus Corneri, ad ann. 1047.

others, two natural brothers of the count. Theodore himself hardly avoided the same fate by a hasty flight, and enraged at the conduct of the two bishops, caused all the merchant ships of Liege and Cologne to be burnt, and forbade any future traffic with the bishoprics^b. The bishops hereupon made a confederation with Egbert, margrave of Brandenburg, and the bishops of Utrecht and Metz, and with the assistance of some disaffected nobles of Holland, gained possession of Dordrecht^c. Count Theodore, at the head of a not very numerous force, soon after re-entered the town by night, and obliged his enemies to evacuate it; but a few days afterwards, while passing unguardedly through a narrow street, he received a wound from a poisoned arrow, shot by an unknown hand, and died within three days in January, 1049^k. The street in which this accident occurred afterwards bore the name of "Graaven Straat," or Count's Street^l. Theodore died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother.

- 1049 FLORENCE I.—The reign of this prince, like that of his predecessors, was rendered turbulent and unhappy, by the restless jealousy and enmity of the Bishop of Utrecht. In the year 1058, William I., who then filled this see, formed a confederacy against Florence, with his brother Wishard, governor of Gueldres, Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Liege, the Count of Louvain, the Lord of Cuyck, and Egbert, margrave of Brandenburg; and these nobles, with their united armies, accompanied by some troops of the empire, invaded the county of

^b Schryver's Graaven in Died. 4, 1 deel., bl. 165. Johan. à Leid., lib. x., cap. 5.

^c Johan. à Leid., lib. x., cap. 6.

^k Beka in Bernulph., p. 40. Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 110.

^l Boxhorn Theat. Urb. Holl., p. 98.

Holland^m. Florence, despairing of being able to withstand so overwhelming a force, had recourse to a stratagem, much in use in the warfare of early ages. In a field, near Dordrecht, where his forces were drawn up to await the attack, he caused pits to be dug, and lightly covered with turf, into which several of the enemies' horse, when advancing briskly, as if to certain victory, suddenly fell, and being unable to extricate themselves, the whole army was thrown into the utmost confusion; at this moment Count Florence led forward his troops, and as they met with scarcely any resistance, the issue of the battle was decisive in their favour; 60,000 of the allied troops were slain, and the Governor of Gueldres, the Count of Louvain, and the Bishop of Liege made prisonersⁿ. 1061

A like success attended the arms of the count in a second invasion, by the Archbishop of Cologne, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Lord of Cuyck, whom he defeated, and put to flight in an obstinate and murderous battle, fought near the village of lower Hemert. Wearied with the combat, Count Florence fell asleep under a tree, not far from the scene of action, when the Lord of Cuyck, having reassembled his scattered soldiers, returned, and surprising him thus defenceless, put him to death with a great number of his followers^o. He did not, however, venture to attack the main body of the army, which retired in safety. Florence left by his wife Gertrude, daughter of Herman, duke of Saxony, one son, Theodore, and a daughter named Bertha, or Matilda, afterwards married to Philip I., king of France^p.

^m Petrus Divæus Annal. Brabant, lib. vi.

ⁿ Heda, p. 125. Johan. à Leid., lib. xi., cap. 6.

^o Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 116. Manuscript Chronyck van Egmond in Schryver's Graaven, 1 deel., bl. 174.

^p Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 111. Velly Hist. de France, tom. ii., p. 403.

THEODORE V., being a child of tender years at the time of his father's death, was placed under the guardianship of his mother, Gertrude of Saxony. She had conducted the administration scarcely two
1063 years, when she contracted a second marriage with Robert, the younger son of Baldwin V., of Flanders, (surnamed from this alliance the Frisian,) and in conjunction with the nobles, conferred on him the government of the county during the minority of her son^a.

It was not to be supposed that the Bishop of Utrecht would neglect so favourable an opportunity, as the succession of a minor to the county of Holland, for advancing pretensions to some portion at least of the states, to the whole of which he imagined he had a claim; more particularly as William I., the present occupant of the see, was a prelate of a character no less warlike and enterprising than his predecessors, and enjoyed, moreover, at this time great influence in the Imperial court.

The Emperor Henry IV., elected King of the Romans in the life-time of his father, was still a child only twelve years of age; and Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, the spiritual lord and intimate friend of the Bishop of Utrecht, having possessed himself of the person of the young sovereign, governed as he pleased in his name^r. The bishop, therefore, found no difficulty in obtaining any favour which he might think fit to desire, and accordingly in May, 1064, a grant was made to him in the name of the emperor, of the whole of the county west of the Vlie, and about the Rhine, with the abbey of Egmond, besides all those lands

^a Johan. à Leid., lib. xiii., cap. 1. Meyer Chron. Fland., lib. iii., ad ann. 1063, p. 26.

^r Ann. Sax. Col., tom. i., p. 493.

from which Theodore III. had expelled Theodore Bavo^a. The circumstance, probably, of Gertrude's marriage with Robert the Frisian, whose reputation stood high for courage, and ability, prevented the bishop from attempting to obtain a recognition of his rights for some years, and he had employed the intervening time in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land^b. After his return from thence a favourable conjuncture offered itself for enforcing the Imperial grant.

Baldwin VI., count of Flanders, had succeeded his father, Baldwin V., in 1067, and died after a short reign, leaving his son Arnold an infant, when the government was assumed by Richilda, widow of 1071 the late count, as regent during her son's minority^c. But the nobles and people soon becoming weary of her extortions and oppression, sent to petition Robert the Frisian to come over and take possession of the regency, to which he was entitled, moreover, by a will made in his favour by his brother Baldwin, a short time before his death, at Oudenarde^d. On Robert's demand that Richilda should make an amicable surrender of the administration, she not only refused compliance, but confiscated Alost, and the five islands of Zealand west of the Scheldt, possessions of Robert in Flanders, and exercised great severity on those she suspected of being his partisans^e. To avenge these injuries, Robert collected a considerable body of troops, and besieging Richilda in Ryssel, whither she had retired on his approach, forced her to fly into France, 1071 and place herself under the protection of the king, Philip I., liege lord of Flanders. She succeeded so

^a Beka in Wilhelm., p. 40. Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., cap. 34, p. 155.

^b Heda in Wilhelm., p. 131.

^c Meyer Ann. Fland., ad ann. 1070, p. 26.

^d Idem. Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 125.

^e Johan. à Leid., lib. xiii., cap. 4.

well in making her cause appear identified with that of her son Arnold*, that Philip marched in person at the head of a powerful force to defend the interests of his vassal. The two armies meeting near Cassel, the king sustained a severe defeat; the young Count Arnold, who was present at the battle, was slain, and Richilda herself taken prisoner^z. The king of France was glad, therefore, to conclude a peace on terms the most favourable to Robert, whom he acknowledged as Count of Flanders, engaging at the same time to marry his step-daughter, Bertha, who shortly after became queen of France. Richilda was subsequently released, at the intercession of the emperor^y.

It was during these transactions in Flanders, that William, bishop of Utrecht, having gained Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, to his alliance, by promising him the government of Holland, as a fief of the bishopric, gave him the command of the united forces of Utrecht and Lorraine, joined to some bands of mercenaries† from the neighbouring states^z. Godfrey, although small and deformed in person, was a leader of undoubted skill, brave, sagacious, and eloquent, and the expedition under his conduct was entirely successful. Robert advanced to Leyden, and attempted, but in vain, to make a stand against his enemies. Being defeated in a severe battle, he was forced, with his wife and her children, to take refuge in Ghent. Holland, and, soon

^z Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 129.

^y Johan. à Leid., lib. xiii., p. 135.

^z Heda in Wilhelm., p. 131. Johan. à Leid., lib. xiii., cap. 5.

* Some historians say, that she purchased the support of the King of France at the price of 4000 pounds of silver. *Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1070, p. 27.*

† “Stipendiarios.” Johan. à Leid., ubi sup. This is the first time we find mention of these kind of troops in the Netherlands.

after, West Friezland, submitted to Godfrey^a; he also conquered and brought under subjection the East Friezlanders*. He founded the city of Delft, where, after having governed the country for about four years with great harshness and severity, he was assassinated by one Gilbert, a servant of Count Theodore; and soon after he received the fatal wound, he caused himself to be conveyed to Utrecht, where he died^b†. His death was followed in the same year by 1075 that of William, bishop of Utrecht^c. Conrad, successor to the see, assumed, likewise, the government of Holland; and to defend himself against any disturbance on the part of Robert the Frisian and Theodore, he completed the fort of Ysselmonde, begun by William, which commanded the passage along the Yssel^d. The Hollanders, unable to endure with patience the episcopal yoke, earnestly desired the restoration of their lawful sovereign, while the young Theodore wished no less ardently to recover his paternal inheritance; and Robert the Frisian being in tranquil possession of Flanders, found himself at liberty to assist his adopted son in the enterprise he now formed for this purpose^e. In order to strengthen 1076 themselves by an important alliance, they sought the friendship of William the Conqueror, then king of England, who had married Matilda, sister of Robert the Frisian. William sent some vessels to their assist-

^a Johan. à Leid., lib. xiii., cap. 5; lib. xiv., cap. 2.

^b Heda in Wilhelm., p. 131. Melis Stoke, boek i., bl. 137.

^c Beka in Wilhelm., p. 42.

^d Idem, p. 43.

^e Schryver's Graaven, 1 deel., bl. 243. Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 347.

* Inhabitants of the present province. Vide Note C. at the end of the volume.

† The extreme deformity of his person obtained for Godfrey the surname of Humpback.

ance, which, uniting with those of Count Robert, sailed towards the Merwe. A large number of Utrecht ships lay in the mouth of that river, to oppose their passage; but after a long and severe contest, the whole of the bishop's fleet was either captured or dispersed, and the fortress of Ysselmonde, where Conrad himself then resided, was forced to surrender, on condition that, a free passage being granted to him and his followers, the bishop should renounce all claim to the states of the Count of Holland, and restore all the conquests made by himself or his predecessors^f. The fortress was afterwards dismantled, and the inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to Count Theodore, who, as soon as he was confirmed in the possession of the county, formed a matrimonial alliance with Othilda, daughter of Frederick, duke of Saxony^g.

The Bishop of Utrecht finding his hopes of aggrandizement frustrated on the side of Holland, fixed them on another quarter. During the long and vexatious disputes between the Emperor Henry IV., and Pope Gregory VII., which embittered that prince's reign, and finally shortened his days, the bishop constantly adhered to the side of the emperor, and took care to secure ample compensation for his fidelity. Egbert, Margrave of Brandenburg, being slain whilst engaged in rebellion against his sovereign, his states, after his 1077 death, were confiscated, and the bishop obtained for his share the counties of Staveren, Oostergowe, Westergowe, and Islegowe, comprising nearly the whole of the present province of Friezland, which had been wrested by Egbert from Theodore of Holland, after the death of Godfrey the Humpback of Lorraine^h.

^f Beka in Conr., p. 43.

^g Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 348—350. Johan. à Leid., lib. xv., cap. 2.

^h Heda in Con., p. 139. Johan. à Leid., lib. xv., cap. 5.

The count, though he lived some years after, made no attempt to dispute with the bishop the possessions conferred on him by this grant; he died in 1091, having governed the county fifteen years after his restoration, leaving only one son by his wife, Othilda, of Saxony¹.

FLORENCE II., surnamed the Fat.—In his reign, 1091 the preaching of Peter the hermit inflamed nearly the whole of Europe with the desire of rescuing the tomb of the Redeemer from the hands of the infidels. The events of this singular phenomenon in the history of mankind are so generally known, the motives of the clergy who kindled the zeal of the multitudes, the 1095 temper and opinions of the people who responded to their call, the crimes and miseries which these expeditions caused and encouraged, with the advantages which ultimately ensued from them, have been so often and so amply discussed by the most able historians, that it would be superfluous and even tedious to dwell upon them here; and the more so, as the effects on Holland were, for some time at least, comparatively slight; for though we find the names of several of her nobility numbered in the ranks of the Crusaders, and among them those of Arkel and Brederode, the most powerful and illustrious in the state, yet, whether that the mercantile habits of the people rendered them unwilling to engage in war, except some tangible advantage were to be gained by it, or that their constant hostilities with the bishops of Utrecht had placed the Church in such an unfavourable point of view, as to render them less liable than the rest of the world to spiritual influence, certain it is, that the enthusiasm was neither so highly wrought nor so widely diffused as among the other peoples of Europe, and particularly the neighbouring county of Flanders.

¹ Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 350, 351.

Their present count also, Florence the Fat, was, unlike his ancestors, a man of a pacific and somewhat indolent disposition, insomuch that he lived during the whole of his reign in peace, not only with the emperor, but even with his restless neighbour and hereditary foe, the Bishop of Utrecht^k. The only transaction wherein we find them opposed to each other, was of a kind not unprofitable to the count. The Bishop Conrad had possessed himself of a church at Alburg, to which the Abbot of St. Truyes in Liege deemed he had the sole right. Florence, who was the advocate* of the abbey, succeeded in bringing about a surrender of the church to the abbot, but caused himself to be well paid for his services; for the abbot tells us that, he “was obliged to draw the unwieldy body of Count Florence, our advocate, with silver cords from Holland to Utrecht, and to bend the stiff neck of the bishop with a hammer of the same material^l.” Florence sought to increase his power rather by friendly alliances than by conquests; he married Petronella, daughter of Theodore, duke of Saxony, and half sister of Lothaire, afterwards Emperor of Germany^m; and on the acces-
 1106 sion of Henry V. to the empire, the count entered into a treaty with him, by which it was provided, that they should use their united efforts to obtain posses-

^k Beka in Godebold, p. 45.

^l Chron. Rudolphi in Vat. Hist. gequot., boek vii., No. 8.

^m Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 354, 355.

* The rich abbeys and bishoprics elected an advocate, whose business it was to defend their interests in the secular courts, and, if required, to march at the head of their vassals in war. They were also called, from the nature of the former duty, “Causidici.” (Du Cange, “*Advocati Ecclesiarum in Gloss.*”) This office was sometimes hereditary, held independently, and even against the will of the bishop or abbot, on whose behalf it was exercised. (Chron. Eginond, p. 43, 89. Schmidt, Hist. des Alle., tom. iv., p. 207, 208.)

sion of the part of Zealand and Flanders west of the Scheldt, of which the Countess-dowager Richilda had, in the year 1071, deprived Robert the Frisian. It does not appear, however, that the Hollanders afforded any active assistance to the emperor, in the expedi- 1108
tion he undertook for this purpose, though there seems no doubt that Count Florence was included in the peace made shortly after at Metz^a, and that the Count of Flanders ceded to him, by that treaty, Zealand west of the Scheldt, and Waasland, since his successors held these lands as a fief of Flanders. Florence the Fat ended his tranquil reign of thirty years in the spring of 1121; he is represented to us as tall and large in stature, of gentle and affable manners, and a placable and benevolent disposition; he excelled all his forefathers, as well in riches as in virtue; his tournaments were celebrated for their splendour and costliness^o; and we may suppose that during his reign, the Hollanders made no inconsiderable advances in freedom, the arts*, commerce, and, perhaps, even literature; if so, however, it is left unnoticed by the early chroniclers, who have rather given us a record of the vices, ignorance, and superstition of men, than traced their first steps towards virtue and knowledge. That theological discussions already occupied a large share of public attention, appears evident from the fact, that heresy not only made its appearance, but struck such deep root, particularly in Zealand, that it was found very difficult to extirpate. One Tanchelyn ventured to preach the doctrine, that 1112

^a Ann. Sax. Col., tom. i., p. 619, 621.

^o Beka in Con., p. 43. Melis Stoke, boek ii., p. 354.

* In the year 1148 a number of magnificent pictures were destroyed at Utrecht by a fire, which consumed the principal churches in the city. Schryver's Graaven, 1 deel., bl. 312.

the ministers of the church, and the offices of priest and bishop, were entitled to no particular reverence; that the receiving of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, was not necessary to salvation*; and that no tithes ought to be paid to ecclesiastics. Blasphemy, impiety, and the most odious crimes, were imputed to him by the clergy, but among the people he was held in high esteem, and the belief in his divine mission was widely spread; they drank, as from a holy fount, of the water in which he had bathed, and accompanied him, wherever he went, sometimes to the number of three thousand, armed for his protection. He was at last surprised, while going on board a ship without his usual guard, and killed by a blow on the head from the hand of one of the priests, by whom his doctrine, and the boldness with which he preached it, had made him both hated and feared^p. It was left to the efforts of the ecclesiastics to stop the progress of this heresy, which does not appear to have excited any general persecution. Florence had by his wife Petronella of Saxony, three sons, Theodore, Florence, and Simon, and one daughter, named Hadwy^q.

THEODORE VI. being too young at the time of his father's death to undertake the management of affairs, his mother, Petronella, was appointed governess during
 1123 his minority; a woman of extraordinary courage, sagacity, and ambition. She took up arms in the cause of her brother Lothaire of Saxony, against the Emperor Henry V., with whom he was at war; and Henry, although he invaded Holland with a powerful army,

^p Vide Letter of the Chapter of Utrecht to the Archbishop of Cologne in Cod. Babenberg., No. 288, Col., tom. ii.

^q Johan. à Leid., lib. xvi., cap. 1.

* The doctrine of the real presence had been disputed in France nearly a century before. Velly, tom. ii., p. 375.

found considerable difficulty in forcing her to acknowledge feudal allegiance to him^r. The election of 1125 Lothaire to the throne of Germany, at length put an end to the enmity between the emperors and the counts of Holland, which had now subsisted, with the intermission only of the short alliance between Florence the Fat and Henry V., for more than a century. Lothaire, in gratitude for the aid which Petronella had afforded him against Henry, invested her son Theodore with the counties of Oostergowe and Westergowe, in the province of Friezland, of which Henry IV. had made a grant to Conrad, bishop of Utrecht^a. Neither the Hollanders or the bishops, however, reaped any benefit from the imperial gifts, since the Friezlanders, a people devotedly attached to their freedom, would not endure that those liberties which “their ancestors had purchased with their blood, should be destroyed by a stroke of the pen^b.” The grant of the emperor was, on the contrary, the occasion of a dangerous war to Count Theodore, since the Friezlanders of Oostergowe and Westergowe, excited to rebellion his subjects in West Friezland, always ready for change, and eager to assert their independence. A quarrel having 1132 arisen not long before, between Theodore and his brother Florence, surnamed the Black, the West Friezlanders, among whom the latter was popular, from his valour and eloquence, took advantage of this circumstance to solicit him to accept the sovereignty over them, and defend them against the oppression of the count^c. Florence readily assumed the command offered him, and under his conduct they surprised and

^r Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 359. Chron. Luneburgicum Col., tom. ii., p. 1369.

^a Johan. à Leid, lib. xvii., cap. 2. Heda in And., p. 157.

^b Ubbo Emnicus Rerum Frisicarum, lib. vi.

^c Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 364—376.

plundered Alkmaar; the Kemmerlanders also, thinking the present a favourable opportunity to "fight themselves free^d," united with the Friezlanders, and swore allegiance to Florence. This unnatural contest between the brothers lasted two years, and was at
 1134 length terminated by the interference of the emperor Lothaire, their uncle, who brought them to terms of accommodation, whereby each retained that which they had in possession; but Florence being slain not long after, in an ambush laid for him by the lords of Arensberg and Cuyck, West Friezland and Kemmerland returned to the dominion of Count Theodore^e.

1137 On the death of the Emperor Lothaire, Conrad III. of Hohenstauffen was raised to the imperial dignity by the instrumentality of the bishops of Cologne and Treves, which gave the clergy once more a preponderance in the councils of the Germanic court. The effect of their influence was soon felt by the Count of Holland, since one of the first acts of Conrad was to revoke the grant of Oostergowe and Westergowe made by Lothaire, and restore Friezland to the see of Utrecht^f. As it was more than probable that this circumstance would prove the occasion of a declaration of war on the part of the bishop, Theodore only wanted a pretext for striking the first blow. This was soon afforded by the disputes that arose between Bishop Heribert and Otho, burgrave of Benthem, whose sister Theodore had married^g. Otho had taken advantage of the discontents manifested by the inhabitants of Drent, against the government of the bishop, to invade that province, but was defeated, and taken

^d Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 372.

^e Johan. à Leid., lib. xvii., cap. 9. Beka in And., p. 48. Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 376.

^f Heda in And., p. 157.

^g Schryver's Graaven, 1 deel., bl. 319. Beka in Her., p. 50.

prisoner^b. Count Theodore no sooner heard of the disaster that had befallen his brother-in-law, than he quickly assembled his forces, and laid siege to Utrecht. The bishop seeing no chance of being able to defend himself with temporal, had recourse to spiritual weapons. Attired in his pontifical robes, and followed by his clergy, he issued out of one of the gates of the city, with the book and candle in his hands*, ready to pronounce sentence of excommunication on the count, unless he instantly raised the siege. The Hollanders who stood before the walls prepared for an assault, were confounded at this strange spectacle, and Count Theodore himself was seized with such dread of the spiritual ban with which he was threatened, that he threw down his shield and helmet, and forbade the commission of any further hostilities. The bishop knew so well how to turn his pious terrors to advantage, that he obliged him to swear, that he would retire without molesting the city, and to ask forgiveness on his knees, barefoot and bareheadedⁱ. The reconciliation which followed gave Theodore leisure to undertake a voyage to the Holy Land. During his 1139 absence, the Bishop of Utrecht did not remain idle, although he refrained from any actual violation of the peace. By the treaty made in 1018, by which Theodore III. consented to hold Bodegrave, Merwede, and Zwammerdam, as a fief of Utrecht, the Counts of Holland had gained the right of voting as vassals in the election of the bishops. Heribert now obtained from the Emperor Conrad III. a charter, vesting the right

^b Idem, p. 51.

Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 386. Beka in Heribert, p. 50.

* In pronouncing sentence of excommunication, the clergy usually held a lighted candle during the time it was being delivered, which they threw down and extinguished as it was finished. Mat. Par., p. 585.

of election in the chapter of Utrecht, to the exclusion of the vassals; and likewise another, confirming him in the possession of Oostergowe and Westergowe, with a penalty of one thousand pounds of pure gold against any one who should venture to infringe it^k. As the Counts of Holland did not think it necessary to pay regard to either of these edicts, their only effect was to exasperate still further the jealousy and enmity existing between them and the bishops.

In this reign, Holland was already sufficiently populous to admit of the removal of a large colony of its inhabitants. Adolphus, count of Holstein, and Albert, surnamed the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg, having defeated and subdued the Wendels* and Obodrites†, nations of the Sclavonian race‡, the whole of them deserted their country: to re-people the lands now left waste, therefore, Albert sent to Utrecht, Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, from whence he collected a vast number of builders and husbandmen, and settled them on the borders of the Elbe and Havel. The
1151
Hollanders (so strong is the power of habit on the human mind) fixed themselves, by choice, on the low and marshy lands south of the Elbe, and the tracts then called Balsemerland and Marsciemerland, extending to the forest of Bohemia, and which the Sclavi had before wrested from the Saxons. Notwithstanding the difficulties they had to contend with, both from the nature of the soil, and the frequent incursions of the Sclavi, these patient and industrious colonists built towns and churches in their new settlement, and

^k Heda in Herib., p. 163—166.

▪ Inhabiting the present Pomerania. Herm. Cor., Col. 2—631.

† People of Mecklenburg. Idem, 632.

‡ The Sclavi possessed, besides Pomerania, the whole country from the Oder to the Elbe. Idem.

in a short time rendered it incredibly rich and flourishing¹. Theodore died in the autumn of 1157, leaving four sons by his wife Sophia, daughter of the Count Palatine of the Rhine^m.

FLORENCE III.—Florence, finding, on his accession 1157 to the government, that the Flemish merchants evaded the payment of the tolls at Dordrecht, by passing down the Maas (now the old Meuse) by Geervliet and Bornesse, obtained permission of the emperor to establish a toll at the former place. The Flemings, deeply aggrieved at this new burden on their trade with Holland, which, even at this early period, was of considerable value, made complaints to Count Philip of Flanders, who governed the county in the room of his father, Theodore of Alsatia, then in the Holy Land. Philip, young, brave, and ambitious, readily determined to make war on the Count of Holland, both by land and sea, for the protection of the commerce of his subjects; and accordingly equipped a number of ships sufficient to keep the Holland navy in check, while with his land forces he made himself master of the Waasland, after which, having enriched his troops with considerable booty, he retired to Flandersⁿ. Several years elapsed before Count Florence found himself in a condition to attempt the recovery of his lost territory, or to revenge the injuries inflicted on his subjects. Meanwhile, he sought and obtained in marriage, Ada, 1162 grand-daughter of David I., king of Scotland, and under pretext of bringing home his royal bride, he put to sea a large fleet of ships, by which she was escorted to the mouth of the Maas, where the fleet remained

¹ Helmoldia Chron. Slav., lib. i., cap. 57. Herman. Corn. Col., tom. ii., p. 697.

^m Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 394.

ⁿ Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. v., ad ann. 1157, p. 47.

stationary, until circumstances should permit Florence to renew the war with Flanders°. He likewise concluded an amicable treaty under the auspices of the Emperor Frederick I., with Godfrey, bishop of Utrecht, whereby the government of the long-disputed territory of Friezland was to be exercised in common, and its revenues equally divided between them; and about the same time entered into an agreement with the bishop, and the Counts of Guelderland and Cleves, that they should mutually take measures to prevent the disasters arising from the frequent overflowing of the Rhine*.

- 1155 To this effect several dykes were raised, and a canal dug a little above Rhenen, on the borders of Guelderland, to lead off a portion of its waters to the Zuyderzeep. Thus, having secured himself on the side of Utrecht, Florence recommenced hostilities both by land and sea†, against Philip of Flanders, which, however, terminated in a manner most disastrous to the former, since he was defeated in a severe naval battle, many of his nobility were slain, and himself wounded and carried prisoner to Bruges. As the Counts of Holland owed fealty to the Counts of Flanders for the five islands west of the Scheldt, Florence, upon this ground, was cited before a court, composed of the vassals of Count Philip, and declared to have forfeited all right to those islands. Upon the mediation of the Bishops of Cologne and Liege, Philip consented to
- 1167 release Florence, after an imprisonment of two years, and to reinstate him in the territories he held of

° Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 395, 396.

° Heda, p. 172, 173, 181.

* The old mouth of the Rhine at Catwyk was now nearly closed up.

† The Flemish historian says that "*tanta sibi vim militum piratarumque conflaverat, ut totius maris imperium obtinere videretur.*" Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. v., ad ann. 1165, p. 49.

Flanders⁹. The treaty made on this occasion, gives a little insight into the customs of the Netherlanders at this early period, and therefore deserves to be noticed somewhat at length. By Art. 6th, it is provided: That if any Fleming being in Holland, shall be robbed, the inhabitants of the place where the act is committed shall be obliged to make restitution, and to banish the thief, or be answerable for all the evil and mischief he may occasion if allowed to remain; should the inhabitants be unwilling to pay the sum required, the count must take it upon himself to do so. By Art. 13th, if a debt be demanded of a Flemish merchant, travelling in Holland, and he deny such debt, his creditor shall not hinder him on his journey, but follow him to the place whither he is going, and there submit the case to the determination of the magistrates*; if the debtor be too long, or vexatiously detained, he shall be indemnified by the count. Should the Count of Holland, or his successors, violate any of the articles of this treaty, his vassals in the five islands shall leave his service, and become subjects of the Count of Flanders, till he make satisfaction; which, if he persist in refusing, the guarantees of the treaty, on the side of Holland, shall pay to the Count of Flanders six thousand marks of silver. The Count of Holland was obliged to forego the right of exacting tolls at Geervliet, and to surrender the sovereignty of Waasland. The treaty was signed by a great number of nobles as sureties on both sides^r.

The West Friezlanders had not let slip the favour-

⁹ Schryver's Graaven, 359—361. Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. v., ad ann. 1165, p. 49.

^r Meyer, Ann. Fland., ad ann. 1165—1167, p. 49, 50. Ægidius, de Roya Chron. Belg., ad ann. 1167.

* "Schepenen," or sheriffs.

1168 able opportunity for rebellion, offered by the imprisonment of Count Florence, but made use of it on the contrary to attack and plunder their neighbours the Kemmerlanders, and to possess themselves of Alkmaar, which they laid in ashes^a. Florence was no sooner released, than he determined to chastise their insolence. He therefore marched into West Friezland at the head of a powerful body of troops, among whom were the flower of his nobility, and came to a pitched battle with the insurgents near Schagen: the Friezlanders, purposely retreating, drew their pursuers into an ambush, when they turned suddenly upon them; a sharp conflict ensued, in which the Hollanders were totally defeated; a great number, particularly of the nobles, slain, and many more made prisoners^b. Florence was never able, during the whole of his reign, to reduce his rebellious subjects in that quarter to entire obedience, though in an expedition he undertook against them some years after, he forced the Friezlanders of Texel and Wieringen to pay him a fine of four thousand marks of silver^c. (250*l*.)

1170 The year 1170 was rendered memorable by a terrific flood, which extended over Holland, Friezland, and Utrecht: in the latter province, the waters rose to so great a height, that the people were able to catch fish with nets from the walls of the town^d. The position of the land of the Netherlands renders it, as is well known, subject to constant disasters of this kind. To avoid tediousness, therefore, they will be passed over without mention, unless they are attended with any lasting effect, or cause a permanent change in the face of the country.

^a Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 397, 398.

^b Idem, boek ii., bl. 404—408.

^c Johan. à Leid., lib. xviii., cap. 7.

^d Beka in Godf., p. 54.

^e The small mark containing about 15*d*.

The crusade preached in 1187 by Pope Clement III., drew a considerable number of the princes of Europe to the army of Frederick I. or Barbarossa, 1189 emperor of Germany: among these was the Count of Holland, who had assumed the cross three years before^w. The crusading army having spent the winter in Greece, 1190 passed the Hellespont in the March of 1191, and in the month of May following, rendered themselves masters of Iconium. The troops, who had suffered greatly during their long march, and the ensuing siege, were still further dispirited by the death of their brave and able leader, Frederic Barbarossa, who perished while bathing 1191 in the small river of Seleph, in Armenia^x. After his decease, the army was conducted to Antioch by Frederic, duke of Suabia, his second son, where the imprudent use of food and wine, after a long-continued scarcity of provisions, caused a pestilential sickness in the camp, and among the immense number of those who fell victims to its ravages, was Count Florence of Holland. He was buried near the grave of the Emperor Frederic, in St. Peter's church, at Antioch^y. His reign was invariably unfortunate; but he is represented as a prince of admirable piety and integrity. This count is said to be the first who obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money, stamped with the arms of Holland^z.

THEODORE VII.—Florence III. left by Ada, the Scottish princess, Theodore, his successor to the county; William, who remained in the Holy Land for nearly five years after the death of his father; Florence, arch-deacon of Utrecht; Robert, governor of Kemmerland,

^w Godf. Monach. St. Pantaleonis, ad ann. 1188, 1189. Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 418.

^x Herman. Cor., col. ii., p. 787, 788.

^y Hist. Terræ Sanct. Col., tom. ii., p. 1351.

^z Recherches sur le Commerce, tom. i., p. 89.

and four daughters^a. The confused state of affairs in Flanders, at the time of the accession of Theodore, seemed to offer him a favourable opportunity of releasing himself from the vassalage to which he was subject, in respect of the five islands, and which was a source of perpetual vexation to the Counts of Holland. Philip of Flanders, who had accompanied the crusade in 1189, died during the siege of Acre, about two years after, leaving no issue; whereupon Philip II., king of France, claimed the county, as having escheated to him in default of heirs male^b. Baldwin, count of Hainault, however, son of Margaret, sister of the late count, assumed the government of the county in defiance of the right claimed by Philip as Suzerain; and while he was occupied in maintaining his authority against the king, Theodore of Holland petitioned Henry VI., emperor of Germany, that he might henceforth hold the islands west of the Scheldt as an immediate fief of the empire, and likewise for leave to restore the tolls at Geervliet^c. As the Count of Flanders himself owed allegiance to the empire for the islands in question, Henry refused the first petition^d; the second, however, was more successful; and the merchants of the empire, as well as the Flemings, were commanded to pay five per cent. on all ships of value more than one hundred marks, passing by Geervliet. The renewal of this impost, and the severity with which it was exacted, (the Hollanders often forcing the Flemings to pay double,) so greatly irritated the latter, that they made an irruption into Walcheren, 1195 while Florence could only oppose them with a divided

^a Beka in Godf., p. 53.

^b Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. vii., ad ann. 1191, p. 57.

^c Idem, lib. vii., ad ann. 1191, p. 57.

^d Idem, lib. vii., ad ann. 1192, p. 58.

force, since he was at this time embarrassed by another war^e.

William of Holland perceiving, shortly after his return from the Holy Land, that some enemies at court had found means to excite suspicion and jealousy in the mind of his brother towards him, retired to West Friezland, where the disaffected were always sure to find companions ready for revolt^f. Hostilities were begun on the side of William, when Theodore sent one part of his army to Friezland, under the conduct of his wife Adelaide, (daughter of the Count of Cleves,) while he himself advanced with the remainder to expel the Flemings from Walcheren. The issue of both expeditions proved fortunate. Theodore forced the Flemings to evacuate Zealand, while the lady Adelaide, having found means, by dint of money and promises, to seduce a considerable portion of William's troops from their fidelity, defeated the remainder in a battle fought near Alkmaar, and William himself with difficulty escaped being taken prisoner^g. Towards the end of the same year the brothers were reconciled, by the influence chiefly of their mother, Ada of Scotland, and Theodore consented to bestow on William 300 pounds Flemish (150*l.*) yearly, payable from the tolls at Geervliet, and all his possessions in Friezland^h, to be held as a fief of Holland^b. The good fortune of Count Theodore at length deserted him, and the event of a war, in which he was afterwards engaged with Utrecht, was disastrous in the extreme both to himself and the state. By the treaty made between Florence III.

^e Meyer, Ann. Fl., ad ann. 1195, p. 61. Beka in Bald., p. 57.

^f Beka in Bald., p. 57. Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 350.

^g Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 452, 453.

^h Beka in Bald., ii., p. 57. Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 456, 457.

^{*} Not West Friezland, but the present province of that name.

and the Bishop Godfrey in 1165, it was stipulated that they should divide equally the revenues of Friesland, which, of course, implied an understanding, that neither party was to levy taxes without the consent of the other. The present bishop, Theodore van der Aare, was elected to the see of Utrecht after it had been occupied for a short period by Theodore, uncle of the Count of Holland, and Arnold of Isenburg, both chosen at the same time, the former by the vassals*, Theodore of Holland and the Count of Guelderland, and by a portion of the canons, the latter by the remainder of the canons only. Van der Aare found, on his consecration, that the finances of the bishopric were so deeply involved, in consequence of the troubles arising from a disputed election, as not to admit of his paying much regard to the condition of the treaty made with the Count of Holland respecting Friesland¹. He therefore, without consulting Count William, used every means he could devise to extort money from the Friezlanders. William manifested his dissatisfaction at this mode of proceeding, by seizing the bishop at Staveren and throwing him into prison. But the Friezlanders, dreading the vengeance of heaven for the injury done to so holy a person, released him by force of arms; and William, as he found that the greater number of the people espoused the cause of the prelate, applied for assistance to Otho, count of Guelderland, whose daughter he had married, and to his brother Theodore, of Holland. Each, in compliance with his

¹ Beka in Theod., ii., p. 62.

* As the vassals of Utrecht continued to vote in the election of the bishop, notwithstanding the charter vesting the right in the chapter alone, granted by the Emperor Conrad III., the elections were, in consequence, perpetually disputed between the two parties. Beka, p. 52. Heda, pp. 169, 171, 184, &c.

request, levied a considerable body of troops, and Otho took possession of Deventer, while Theodore laid siege to the city of Utrecht^k. In this difficulty the bishop betook himself for protection to Henry, duke of Brabant, or Lower Lorraine*. Henry commenced operations in favour of his new ally, with possessing himself, by stratagem, of the person of Otho of Guelderland, upon which Theodore raised the siege of Utrecht, marched to Brabant for the purpose of releasing Otho, and besieged and took Bois le Duc. On his return to Holland, laden with booty and prisoners, he was inter- 1202
cepted near Heusden by the Duke of Brabant's army, strengthened by the soldiers of Cologne and Liege, together with some troops from Limburg and Flanders. A sharp engagement ensued, in which Theodore's troops were entirely defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner^l. He was released within the year upon payment of 2000 marks of silver; but by the treaty then made with the duke, he was obliged to surrender Breda, and bound himself and his successors to do homage to the Dukes of Brabant for Dordrecht, and all the lands lying between Stryen, Walwyk, and Brabant, and to assist them against all their enemies, except the emperor^m. Thus the ancient capital of the county became a fief of Brabant, and so continued until the year 1283, when John I., duke of Brabant, released the Count of Holland from his fealty.

^k Johan. à Leyd., lib. xix., cap. 11. Beka in Theod., ii., p. 62.

^l Petrus Divæus Troph. Brab., lib. x., ad ann. 1202.

^m Butkens Trophées de Brab., Corps. Dip., tom. i., p. 130.

* The duchy of Brabant took its rise in the year 1106, when the Emperor, Henry V., divided the ancient kingdom, or duchy of Lorraine, into two parts, called Upper and Lower Lorraine, and bestowed the latter on Godfrey the bearded, count of Louvain, who assumed the title of Duke of Brabant and Lorraine. Henry III., duke of Brabant, dropped the title of Duke of Lorraine, and styled himself Duke of Brabant only. Guicciardini, Belg. Descrip., tom. i., p. 90. Johan. à Leid., lib. xiv., cap. 4.

1203 Theodore did not long survive this calamity; he was attacked by a severe sickness at Dordrecht, and on the approach of death, earnestly desired to see his brother William, with a view, probably, of bequeathing to his protection Ada, his only daughter, whom, as he had no son, he left heiress of his dominions^a. He died, however, before his wish could be accomplished, and his untimely fate brought new miseries on his country; the government falling into the hands of a girl of tender years, guided by a mother, sufficiently shrewd, indeed, and courageous, but intriguing and ambitious.

^a Melis Stoke, boek ii., bl. 478. Beka in Theod., ii., p. 63.

CHAPTER II.

Ada. Marriage with Louis, Count van Loon. William comes to Schouwen. Proclaimed Count. Imprisonment of Ada. Alliance of Louis with Flanders and Utrecht. William deprived of his authority. His Restoration. Peace with Utrecht; with Flanders; with Louis van Loon. Affairs of Germany. Alliance of Holland with England and Germany against France. Battle of Bouvines. Truce. Alliance with France. William accompanies Louis of France to England. Peace between France and England. Crusade. Capture of Damietta. Death of William. Charter of Privileges granted to Middleburg. Florence IV. Minority. Crusade against the Stedingers. Tournament at Corbye. Death of Florence. His Children. William II. Minority. Chosen Emperor. Siege of Aix. War with Flanders; with West Friezland. Death of William. Court at the Hague. Canal of Sparendam. Charters granted to the Towns. Digression on the Constitution of Holland.

THE last wish of Count Theodore, that the guardian- 1203
ship of his daughter and her states should be confided to his brother William, was frustrated by the intrigues of the Countess-dowager Adelaide of Cleves, who, in order to debar him from all share in the administration, had determined upon marrying her daughter to Louis, count of Loon, and, with this view, had summoned him to come secretly into Holland, during the lifetime of the count. Unsuitable as the match appeared, (since Loon was only a small fief of the bishopric of Liege,) she now succeeded in gaining the consent of several powerful nobles to it^a, and used such dispatch in the completion of her design, that the nuptials of the young countess were celebrated before her father's body was consigned to the tomb^b. William, therefore,

^a Vid. Letter of the Countess Adelaide in Rym. Foed., tom. i., p. 145. Chron. Belg. Anon., ad ann. 1203.

^b Melis Stoke, boek ii., p. 479—482.

on his arrival at the Zype, found his brother dead, and his niece already married; and being unable to obtain a safe conduct from Adela or Count Louis, to visit his brother's grave at Egmond, which he made the pretext of his coming, he returned into Friezland^c. Within a very short time, however, symptoms of discontent at the prospect of being governed by a female, and a stranger, began to manifest themselves among some of the nobility, even such as had consented to Ada's marriage; and Philip van Wassenaar, one of the leaders of the disaffected, brought William disguised to the island of Schouwen. Here he was received with every demonstration of joy, and shortly after, proclaimed throughout Zealand as lawful governor of the county^d. The Kemmerlanders, headed by Walter of Egmond, and Albert Banjaard, quickly followed the example of Zealand, and the Lady Ada, and her husband, who were then at Haarlem, escaped with difficulty, and in the darkness of the night, to Utrecht. But the young countess, unable to support the loss of her mother's presence and counsel, ere long quitted that city, and hastened to rejoin her at Leyden. Here she was besieged by Philip van Wassenaar, and the citadel being poorly supplied with provisions, was soon forced to surrender^e. The Countess Ada was sent prisoner to the Texel, and subsequently to the court of John, king of England. William, however, was not more secure in his government, since Louis van Loon, a young man of high courage and enterprising spirit, was little inclined to sit down quietly under the loss of his bride, and her princely portion. He courted to his alliance the Bishop of

^c Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 1, 2, deel. 2.

^d Beka in Theod., p. 63.

^e Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 7—9.

Liege, the Duke of Limburg, and Philip, margrave of Namur, and purchased the friendship of the warlike Bishop of Utrecht, for the sum of two thousand pounds Flemish*. Philip of Namur was now governor of Flanders, in the absence of his brother Baldwyn IX., elevated about this time to the throne of Constantinople^f; and an irresistible bait was held out to him, by the offer of abolishing the tolls at Geervliet. He promised immediate and effective aid to Louis, and many of the Holland nobles, seeing his party so rapidly increasing, fell off from their allegiance towards William, who, thus deprived of the means of resisting the force arrayed against him, was obliged to retire to Zealand. After his departure, the whole of Holland submitted to Louis, through the activity and efforts chiefly of the Bishop of Utrecht: nor was William long allowed to remain unmolested in Zealand. Philip of Namur, landing with some troops in Walcheren, quickly made himself master of the island; and about the same time, Hugh van Voorn, a Zealand noble in the interests of Ada, possessing himself of Schouwen, subjected nearly the whole of Zealand to the authority of Louis van Loon. William, to avoid being taken prisoner, was forced to conceal himself from the pursuit of his enemies, under a pile of wet nets in a fishing boat, in which he happily escaped. In a short time, the administration of Philip van Voorn, governor of Zealand in the name of Louis van Loon, became so intolerable to the inhabitants, that they determined to search out William, who was secreted in one of the

^f Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, &c., chap. 61.

^s Meyer, Ann. Fland., ad. ann 1203, p. 63. Heda, p. 187.

* The "pondt" Flemish is worth about ten shillings; there is also another coin called pondt, of value forty "groots," or half-pence.

islands, and to re-establish him in his authority^b. The scheme was executed almost as soon as formed; and Philip van Wassenaar, and Walter van Egmond, William's partisans in Holland, being informed of his restoration in Zealand, assembled with great expedition a considerable body of Kemmerlanders, and fortified themselves in Leyden. They were driven from thence by Louis, before Count William could advance to their assistance, who, on his arrival, found his adversary encamped near Voorschoten. William, marching to Ryswick, took up an advantageous position there, when the Duke of Limburg, having moved forward from the camp of Louis, for the purpose of reconnoitring, was so astonished at the number and excellent condition of the enemy's troops, that he made a precipitate retreat. This step spread terror and mistrust through the remainder of Louis's army, and the flight soon became general; arms, tents, provisions, all were left on the field; the women even joined in the pursuit of the fugitives, great numbers of whom were slaughtered, and Count Louis himself hardly reached Utrecht in safetyⁱ. This success was counter-
 120 1 balanced by the loss of Dordrecht, which, having been captured by William's troops, now fell again into the hands of the Bishop of Utrecht. So unfortunate an event disposed William to hearken to terms of accommodation, and peace was soon after concluded between him and the bishop^k. The Count of Loon, thus deprived of his most active ally, induced Philip of Namur to make an irruption into the island of Schouwen. William hastened thither upon the news of his

^b Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 11—24, 2 deel. Beka in Theod., 2°, p. 64.

ⁱ Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 24—39. Beka in Theod., 2°, p. 65. Chron. Belg., ad ann. 1204.

^k Heda in Theod., 2°, p. 188.

landing, but before the two armies came to an engagement, a peace was effected by the interference of Matilda of Portugal, countess dowager of Flanders. Louis 1206 being then at Utrecht, received there the news of the reconciliation between his rival and his ally; which left him no alternative but to consent to a treaty, concluded under the mediation of Philip of Namur, who, however, took care that the terms of it should be highly advantageous to him¹. William, therefore, never thought fit to adhere to its conditions, of which the principal was, that he should obtain the restoration of the Countess Ada to her husband; and Louis, perceiving that there were no hopes of his performing this stipulation, sent in the next year an ambassador 1207 (Walter Bertrand) to John, king of England, to solicit the return of his wife. John, at this time engaged in a war with France, and in disputes with his subjects, was desirous of gaining as many partisans as possible to his own cause, and that of his nephew, Otho IV., emperor of Germany, whose rival; Philip of Suabia, was supported by the king of France. He consented, therefore, to restore the countess, on condition that Louis should serve him in arms as often as required, and adhere to the Emperor Otho, so long as he should remain the ally of England^m. But as the circumstances in which John was placed, his kingdom being laid under an interdict, and himself at variance with his nobles, did not admit of his affording any active assistance to Louis; the latter never regained any footing in Holland or Zealand, and William remained in peaceable possession of the county. The Countess

¹ Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 43—45. Meyer, Ann. Fland., ad ann. 1203, p. 63.

^m Vid. Lett. of the Countess of Holland, and Convention of the Count van Loon. Rym. Fœd., tom. i., p. 145, 146.

Ada lived after her re-union with her husband until the year 1218, when she died without children^a.

The death of Philip of Suabia, in the year 1208, appeared likely to leave Otho undisputed master of the German empire: but dissensions soon after arising between the pope and the emperor, on the subject of 1211 their possessions in Italy, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Otho, and, in consequence of it, the papal legate in Germany induced a portion of the electoral princes to declare Frederick, son of Henry VI., as emperor^o. The Count of Holland, since the death of Philip of Suabia, had adhered to the side of Otho, from whom he obtained a confirmation of his authority^p; whereas Louis van Loon, following the example of his liege lord, the Bishop of Liege, espoused the party of Frederick, soon after his election. This circumstance inclined the King of England, now threatened with an invasion by Philip II. of France, to abandon the alliance with Louis for that of Holland. He, therefore, made a treaty with William, by which the latter bound himself to assist the king as often as required, with twenty-five lances^{*}, to receive pay out of the royal treasury while serving in England; to allow him to levy one thousand foot soldiers in Holland, and to provide him with ships to transport them into England, the charges of which were to be defrayed by the king: John engaged, moreover, to pay the count the sum of four hundred marks of silver^{q†}.

^a Snou. Rer. Batav., lib. vi., p. 82.

^o Mat. Par., Rer. Ang. Hist., p. 193. Herm. Corn. Col., ii., p. 839.

^p Wilhelmus Procurator ad ann. 1206.

^q Rym. Fœd., tom. i., pp. 168, 169, 212.

^{*} Each "lance" was composed of ten horsemen, and an indefinite number of attendants on foot, called "Knappen."

[†] William declares himself the liege man of the king in respect of this

Besides the Count of Holland, the King of England had formed an alliance with Ferdinand, count of 1214 Flanders, Otho, emperor of Germany, and the Duke of Brabant; and these princes were prepared to enter France with their united forces, amounting to one hundred thousand men, as soon as Philip should be occupied with the invasion of England. Philip, therefore, determined to direct his operations first against his vassal, the Count of Flanders, and marching thither in person, at the head of his army, encountered the allied troops near the bridge of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay. Though far inferior in numbers, the King of France obtained a complete victory; the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Brabant were taken prisoners, and the Emperor Otho narrowly escaped sharing the same fate^r. The Count of Holland, whether dazzled by the success which attended the arms of Philip on this occasion, or that some cause of dissatisfaction had sprung up between himself and King John, took advantage of a truce concluded between England and France shortly after the battle, not only to detach himself from the alliance of the former, but to enter into a treaty with Philip, by virtue of which he was called upon, ere long, to take an active part in hostilities against his former ally.

The dissensions between the English nobles and their sovereign had now risen to such a height, that they resolved to declare his right to the crown forfeited, and to offer the sovereignty of England to Louis of France, eldest son of Philip^s. Allured by the prospect of so rich a prize, Philip despatched his son with

^r Mat. Par., 210, 211. Hern. Cor., Col. 842—845.

^s Mat. Par., p. 234.

sum, binding himself to assist him in defending England, and in gaining possession of his other states.

1216 a considerable fleet to England, whither he was accompanied by the Count of Holland, at the head of six and thirty nobles with their vassals^t.

The death of John, in the same year, was followed by an unsuccessful battle fought near Lincoln, and the return of the discontented nobles to their allegiance under Henry III., his son; and Louis, finding himself deserted by most of his former friends, was glad to conclude a peace with the Earl of Pembroke, guardian of the young king, in order to ensure indemnity to his partisans, and his own safe retreat into France^u. The termination of
 May the war between France and England left Count
 1217 William free to accompany the crusade undertaken at this time; and he accordingly set sail from the Meuse, with twelve large ships, which, uniting with a great number of smaller vessels from Friezland, arrived after some delays at the port of Lisbon^v. Immediately upon their landing, a message was sent by the Portuguese nobles to the crusaders, beseeching their assistance against the King of Morocco, who had wrested the fortress of Alcazar from the King of Portugal, and obliged the inhabitants of that country to deliver into his hands a hundred Christian slaves every year. The greater part of the Friezlanders refused to delay their journey to the Holy Land, but the Hollanders under Count William besieged and took Alcazar, and continued the remainder of the year in Portugal.
 1218 Being earnestly admonished by the pope to hasten without further loss of time to the Holy Land, William joined the fleet of the crusaders at Acre, in the next spring, when it was determined to make first the

^t Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. viii., ad ann. 1216.

^u Mat. Par., p. 249—251. Rym. Fæd., tom. i., p. 221, 222.

^v Comit. Holl. Exped. in Syriam, tom. ii., p. 26.

conquest of Egypt, after which it would be easy, they supposed, to subdue Syria and Palestine.

With this design, the crusading forces laid siege to Damietta, a large and well-fortified town, situated on the right bank of the Nile, and united to a fort, built on a rock in the middle of the river, by a strong chain of iron. The Hollanders and Friezlanders, by means of a floating tower of a new and peculiar construction, gained possession of the fort*, and, breaking the chain, opened by this means the passage of the river to the Crusaders. The capture of the fort was soon followed by that of the city; but in the year 1221, it again fell into the hands of the Saracens, nor did any ultimate advantage ensue to the Crusaders from this conquest†. Soon after the conclusion of the siege of Damietta, William returned to Holland, which he governed in peace for about four years. He died on the 4th of February, 1224‡. In this reign was granted a charter of privileges (nearly the oldest known in the county of Holland§) to the city of Middleburg, in Zealand, in the joint names of Joanna, countess of Flanders, and William of Holland¶. By this charter, certain fines were fixed for fighting, maiming, striking, or railing, for resisting the authority of the magistrates, and other delinquencies of minor importance; under the jurisdiction of the schout and

* Oliveri Hist. Dam., cap. 5, 8, 9, 17, 39, col. 1401—1437.

† Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 47.

* The men of Haarlem are said to have borne the principal share in this exploit, the anniversary of which was celebrated in the city until long after.—Boxhorn, Theat. Urb. Holl., p. 128, 130.

† That of Geertruydenberg is somewhat older, being dated 1213, but much mutilated.—Aantek. op Vaterland. Hist., tom. ii., p. 111.

‡ Walcheren, of which Middleburg is the capital, was one of the five islands held by the Counts of Holland as a fief of Flanders.

sheriffs* of the city. All civil causes between citizens, or between a citizen and a foreigner, must be tried by the same magistrates, with an appeal to the count sitting in judgment with the sheriffs. If a foreigner have fought with a citizen, the sheriffs shall endeavour to pacify the quarrel, and in case either party refuse to submit to their decision, they shall ring the town-bell, and call out all the citizens to compel him to obedience. Whoever rings the town-bell without the order of the magistrates, or does not appear when it is rung, is liable to a fine. One of the provisions of this charter evinces a solicitude for the security of the property of individuals, which would seem to belong to a more advanced state of society; it is, that the guardians of minors must give security to the magistrates, before they can undertake the management of their estates. It is difficult to account for the causes which led to the enactment of another provision, which purports, that no one is competent to *give evidence*, unless he have a dwelling in the town, and pays scot and lot. A Middleburgher, choosing another lord than the Count of Holland, must pay ten pounds Flemish (5*l.*) to the count, and ten shillings to the town; the count reserving to himself the judgment in such cases†. The charters of the other cities of Holland and Zealand bear more or less resemblance to this, which, ancient as it is, appears, nevertheless, to have been rather a confirmation of prescriptive customs, than a new code of regulations, though there is no earlier instance on

* The nature of these offices will be explained at the end of this chapter.

† From this it would appear that the subject had a right to withdraw his allegiance from his lord, a custom which, though it might be the occasion of some disorders, must yet, by providing a remedy against oppression and tyranny on the part of the lord, have tended much to soften the rigour of feudal government.

record of the counts binding themselves by oath to the observance of them⁷.

FLORENCE IV. was only twelve years of age when 1224 he succeeded his father; but it is not known with certainty who administered the affairs of the county during his minority, or under whose direction it was that the young count conferred on the towns of Domburg and West Kappel, in Walcheren, charters of privileges, confirmed by the attestation of several Holland and Zealand nobles, and similar in their nature to the one granted by his father to the citizens of Middleburg⁸.

Florence was the first and last of the Counts of Holland who, in obedience to the injunctions of the holy see, bore a part in one of those crusades against Christian heretics, which had, unhappily, become so much the mode during this century. The Stedingers, a people inhabiting the small tract of country bordering on the Weser, having refused to acknowledge the temporal jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bremen, were, for this reason, accused by him of heresy, before 1233 Pope Gregory IX., who preached a general crusade against them. The Duke of Brabant, therefore, with the Count of Cleves and the Count of Holland, who sailed to the Weser in a fleet of three hundred ships, led their united forces into the country of the Stedingers. The invading army, amounting to forty thousand strong, laid waste the whole land with fire and sword; the Stedingers, though far inferior in numbers, defended themselves for some time with undaunted courage; but being defeated in an obstinate and bloody battle, in 1234

⁷ Boxborn op Reigersberg, i. deel., bl. 159.

⁸ Idem, ii. deel., bl. 55 et seq.

which four thousand of them were slain, they submitted at length to the archbishop^a.

The fame of Count Florence's beauty, valour, and skill in all knightly accomplishments, being widely spread abroad, produced such an eager desire in the breast of the young Countess of Clermont to see so bright a pattern of chivalry, that she induced her aged husband to proclaim a tournament at Corbye, where she knew the young count would not fail to be present^b. The event answered her expectations, but proved fatal to the object of her admiration. Observing that one knight in particular bore himself gallantly in the joust, and overthrew all his opponents, she begged her husband to tell her by what armour and device the Count of Holland was distinguished. The
1235 apparently innocent curiosity of his wife aroused such furious jealousy in the bosom of the old man, that he forgot at once what was due to knightly faith and the rights of hospitality; and, assisted by the lord of Nielle, at the head of a number of horsemen, he rushed suddenly upon Count Florence, dragged him from his horse, and slew him, before his attendants had time to assemble for his defence. His death, however, was instantly avenged by Theodore, count of Cleves, who killed the Count of Clermont on the spot, and forced Nielle and his followers to betake themselves to flight^c. Thus perished Count Florence, in the bloom of youth and beauty, leaving his states to his son William, an infant under seven years of age. He had four children by his wife, Matilda, daughter of

^a Chron. Luneberg. Col., tom. i., p. 1406. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 879. Meyer, lib. viii., ad ann. 1233.

^b Oude Chronyck in Schryver's Graaven, i. deel., bl. 427.

^c Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 49 et seq. Johan à Leid., lib. xxii., cap. 16. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 880.

Henry, duke of Brabant; William, Florence, Margaret, and Adelaide, countess of Hainault^d.

WILLIAM II.—The government of the county, during the minority of the young prince, was entrusted to Otho III., bishop of Utrecht, brother of the late count^e. William had just entered his twentieth year, was still “beardless and blushing,” and not yet knighted, when he was elected Emperor of Germany^f. The causes which impelled the electors to a measure so extraordinary as that of placing a mere boy on the imperial throne, were briefly these:—The relative position of the emperors and popes, and their conflicting claims to the sovereignty over Italy, necessarily placed them in perpetual hostility with each other; and never had their mutual recriminations and disgusts been carried to a higher pitch, than during the reign of the present emperor, Frederick II. In the year 1245, Pope Innocent IV. summoned Frederick to appear before a council held at Lyons, to clear himself of the crimes of heresy and sacrilege, of which he was accused; where, notwithstanding the bold and eloquent defence made by the emperor’s proxy, Theodore of Suessa, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance^g. In order to give effect to the decree of the council, Innocent spared neither pains nor money to procure the election of another emperor, and he at length prevailed with the greater number of ecclesiastical, and some few of the lay electors, to nominate Henry, landgrave of Thuringia. Henry’s death hap- 1246 pening shortly after, the imperial dignity was offered to several princes of Europe, and even to Haco, king of Norway, none of whom, however, were found willing

^d Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 57.

^e Beka in Ott., iii., p. 76.

^f Beka in Ott., 76, 77.

^g Mat. Par., p. 583—586.

to accept so troublesome and dangerous an honour^b. At length, on the recommendation of Henry V., duke of Brabant, the choice of the electors in the papal
 1247 interest fell on William of Holland, who, to the hereditary valour of his race, united abilities and prudence far beyond his years, and was moreover remarkable for the extreme beauty of his countenance, and the majestic height of his statureⁱ. Immediately after his election, having caused himself to be knighted by the Duke of Brabant^k, William hastened to Aix, to receive the imperial crown, but found this city entirely devoted to the interests of Frederick, and it cost him a long and expensive siege before he could effect his entrance^l. He was obliged, in order to raise funds for carrying it on, to mortgage Nimeguen, a free city of the empire, to the Duke of Guelderland, for the sum of sixteen thousand marks of silver^{m*}.

1248 Aix at length surrendered, and the ceremony of the new emperor's coronation was performed by Conrad, archbishop of Cologne^{n†}; but, although supported by the whole power and influence of the holy see, and strengthened by the alliance of the Duke of Brunswick, whose daughter he married, William was never able, even after the death of Frederick II., which happened in 1250, to insure general obedience to his authority; while the measures he took for this purpose raised up a troublesome and dangerous enemy in his

^b Mat. Par., 616, 633, 698.

ⁱ Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 63. Mat. Par., 636. Beka in Ott., p. 76.

^k Beka in Ott., p. 77.

^l Herm. Cor., col. 894.

^m Heda in Ott., iii., p. 208.

ⁿ Mat. Par., p. 651.

* Henceforward Nimeguen continued permanently united to Guelderland.

† According to Hermannus Corneri, by the Cardinal of St. Sabine, the Pope's Legate, col. 894.

hereditary states°. According to an ancient custom of Germany, those vassals who neglected to do homage to a new emperor within a year and a day after his coronation, lost irrecoverably the fiefs which they held of the empire. The emperor, therefore, in a diet held 1252 at Frankfort, declared all those fiefs escheated, the possessors of which had not received investiture from him within a year and a day after his coronation at Aixp. Among the number of these, was Margaret, countess of Flanders, familiarly termed “Black Margaret,” daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople. She had omitted to do homage for the five islands west of the Scheldt*,—the lands of Alost and Waas, and the four manors,—for which reason William deprived her of these territories, and bestowed them on John of Avennes, the husband of his sister Adelaide†. John was the son of Margaret, by her first husband, Bouchard, lord of Avennes, from whom she had been divorced in 1214, on the plea of too near a relationship between the parties, and that Bouchard had entered into holy orders, and was a deacon at the time of their marriage‡. She was afterwards married to William de Dampierre, a Burgundian nobleman, by whom she had three sons, William, Guy, and John; and upon her succession to the county, after her union 1214 with William, she declared her intention of leaving the whole of her states to the children of her second husband, alleging that the marriage with Bouchard of

° Vit. Chron., col. ii., p. 1738 and seq.

† Schmidt Hist. des Alle., liv. vi., chap. 9.

‡ Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. 9, ad ann. 1252, p. 77.

• Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., p. 205.

• As William himself held these as a fief of Flanders, and an arrier-fief of the empire, he was placed in the curious position of being vassal and suzerain in respect of the same lands.

Avennes having been declared null by the pope, the issue of it must be illegitimate^s. The stigma thus cast on his birth, coupled with the fear of losing his inheritance, provoked John of Avennes to declare open war against his mother; but on the mediation of Louis IX. of France, a treaty was made, whereby John, after his mother's death, should inherit Hainault, and William of Dampierre, Flanders^{t*}. Matters stood thus, when William made the transfer above mentioned, of the fiefs held by Flanders, under the empire, in favour of John of Avennes. This intelligence no sooner reached the ears of Margaret, than she assembled a powerful army, with the design of invading Zealand; and when
 1253 her troops were in readiness to march, sent to demand homage of the emperor, as Count of Holland, for the five islands of the Scheldt. The emperor, flushed with the pride of his high station, haughtily answered, that "he would be no servant where he was master, nor vassal where he was lord^a." The rage of Black Margaret at this contemptuous reply knew no bounds; and while she sought to amuse William by affecting to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by Henry, duke of Brabant, she dispatched her son, Guy of Dampierre, at the head of her army, into Zealand. The troops landed at West Kappel, where they sustained a signal defeat, in an engagement with the Hollanders, under Florence, brother of the emperor, and Guy, with his brother, John de Dampierre, were

* Mat. Par., 761.

^s Meyer, lib. ix., ad ann. 1246, p. 75. Ægid. de Roya., ad ann. 1246.

^a Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 76—78.

* The wisdom of this decision of St. Louis is much applauded by the French historians (Velly, Hist. de France, tom. iv., p. 353); but it seems more remarkable for expediency than for justice; since, if John of Avennes were legitimate, he was entitled to the whole of his mother's fiefs; if illegitimate, he had no claim to any part of them.

taken prisoners^v. Upon the tidings of this misfortune, Margaret immediately dispatched ambassadors into France, to supplicate assistance from that kingdom, and to offer the county of Hainault to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. Charles readily accepted the offer, and with as many troops as he could assemble on the spur of the occasion, marched into Hainault, and possessed himself of Valenciennes, and several smaller towns. Hardly, however, had the emperor made his appearance in the field early in the ensuing ¹²⁵⁴ spring, than Charles shut himself up in Valenciennes, to which the emperor laid siege, when the duke made his escape from the town, and hastily retreated to France. The desertion of her ally rendered Black Margaret amenable to terms of peace which she had before haughtily and angrily refused^{w*}. She agreed to surrender Hainault, Alost, and the four manors, to John of Avennes; but the treaty was not finally concluded until after the death of William.

The West Friezlanders, who never submitted but with reluctance to the government of Holland, and lost no opportunity of making a struggle for their independence, had, during the absence of the count in Germany, again revolted, and, according to their

^v Johan. à Leid., lib. xxiii., cap. 3. Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. ix., ad ann. 1253, p. 77.

^w Velly, Hist. de France, tom. v., p. 221. Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 92—107.

* After the battle of West Kappel, John of Avennes sent ambassadors to his mother, entreating her to listen to terms of accommodation, if not for his sake, for the sake of her sons, who were his prisoners. "My sons are in your hands," answered the fierce old virago; "but not for that will I bend to your will: slay them, butcher! and devour one seasoned with pepper, and the other with salt and garlic!"—Mat. Par., p. 763. Such language in the mouth of a woman, and a princess, would give us no very advantageous opinion of the manners of these times.

custom, inflicted great damage upon the Kemmerlanders. Some forts which the emperor had built within the boundaries of the province served rather to irritate their jealousy, than to check their turbulence; and at length William found it necessary to repair in person, with a powerful army, to West Friezland, in 1255 order to reduce it to obedience. From Alkmaar, he advanced in the depth of winter to Vroone, a considerable village of Friezland; before him lay the Heer Huygenward, a large drained lake, now entirely frozen over; here the Friezlanders awaited his approach, drawn up on the ice, and divided into small bands of foot, clad in linen frocks, and lightly armed, with half pikes, javelins, and Danish axes. The Hollanders, on the contrary, were in complete armour, and rode the 1256 heavy horses peculiar to their country. The ice being half a foot thick, the emperor did not hesitate to attempt the passage; and the Friezlanders purposely retreating to where it was weakest, he galloped on in heedless pursuit of them, leaving his troops at some distance behind. The ice broke, when his horse sank up to his middle in the mud beneath, and in attempting to recover himself, threw his rider. Three or four of the Friezlanders immediately rushed upon him, affecting ignorance of who he was, and deaf to his prayers for mercy and offers of ransom, cruelly slaughtered him. His body was secretly buried at Hoogtwoude; and his army, after the death of their leader, retreated in disorder, and with heavy loss to Holland^x.

This prince built the court-house at the Hague, whither he transferred the supreme court of Holland, from Haarlem^y.

^x Mat. Par., 793. Melis Stoke, book iii., bl. 114—120.

^y Beka in Ott., p. 80.

The internal commerce of Holland appears even at this early period to have been considerable, since the expenses of the canal of Sparendam, commenced during this reign, were appointed to be paid by tolls levied on the ships passing through it, from one penny to twelve pence, according to their size^a.

The numerous and expensive undertakings in which William II. was engaged, during nearly the whole period of his government, rendered necessary to him the support and assistance of the towns which he purchased by the grant or confirmation of privileges so important, that in course of time they rendered them, as towns, integral and influential portions of the nation. Alkmaar, in 1254, was exempted from all burdens, except contributing to the wars with the West Friezlanders; and in the year 1245, Haarlem was declared free of the county tolls, on condition of providing sixty-four men at arms for the service of the count, when required, and of paying him twenty pounds (Flemish) yearly, with the like sum when the counts should marry, travel to the court of the emperor, or be made knights. The administration of justice was conferred on the magistrates of the city, certain fines being appointed for various crimes and misdemeanors, among the rest, for homicide^a. It is probable that the more aggravated cases of homicide, such as amounted to murder, were punished with death; since in a charter of privileges of the same kind, granted to 1253 Dordrecht, this punishment is awarded to the wilful slayer of another. Delft likewise received a similar charter of privileges in this reign^b.

As the constitution of Holland now begins to

^a Recherches sur le Com., tom. i., p. 174.

^a Boxborn, Theat. Urb. Hol., p. 131. Handvesten van Wm. II. Scriveliuss "Haarlem," bl. 218.

^b Boxborn, Theat. Urb. Hol., p. 162.

assume a regular and permanent form, it may be permitted to make a short digression, for the purpose of giving such an idea of its composition, before the union of 1579, as the notices scattered here and there through the different histories and descriptions of the country will enable us to form; since no work exists, that I am aware of, which may present it to our view in a clear and connected whole.

The constitution of Holland is particularly worthy of observation, as carrying out to an extent greater than that of any other nation, the system of municipal government; a system which, whatever its defects, contributes perhaps more than any modification of civil polity with which we are hitherto acquainted, to promote the civilization, happiness, and freedom of society; and which, although it may be better adapted to the wants of a rising, than to the habits of a long-established community, has yet been found so beneficial to mankind in every variety of climate and situation, and to accommodate itself so admirably to people of totally opposite religions, laws, morals, and manners, that the rulers of every country would do well to pause long, and consider carefully, before they abandon it*. The towns of Holland were not, as in other nations, merely portions of the state, but the state itself was rather an aggregate of towns, each of which formed a commonwealth within itself, providing for its own defence, governed by its own laws, holding separate courts of

* For the advantages resulting from the system of municipal government in India, see the able and eloquent description of that country in Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. vii.; and for its effects on the free cities of Germany, Eneas Sylvius De Mor. Germ., p. 1055—1058; two nations which differ as much, perhaps, as possible in all the above-mentioned particulars.

justice, and administering its own finances; the legislative sovereignty of the whole nation being vested in the towns, forming in their collective capacity the assembly of the states.

The government of every town was administered by a senate (*Wethouderschap*,) formed of two, three, or four burgomasters, and a certain number of sheriffs, (*Schepenen*,) generally seven: a few of the towns, as Dordrecht, had only one burgomaster. The duties of the senate were, to provide for the public safety by keeping the city walls and fortifications in repair, to call out and muster the burgher guards in case of invasion or civil tumult, to administer the finances, to provide for the expenses of the town by levying excises on different articles of consumption, and to affix the portion of county taxes to be paid by each individual. To the burgomasters was committed the care of the police and the ammunition, of the public peace, and of cleansing and victualling the town. The senate generally appointed two treasurers to receive and disburse the city funds under their inspection, and an advocate, or pensionary, whose office (similar to that of recorder in our own municipal corporations) was to keep the charters and records, and to advise them upon points of law. The count had a representative in each town, in the person of the schout, an officer whom he himself appointed, sometimes out of a triple number named by the senate. It was the business of the schout*, besides watching over the interests of the count, to seize on all suspected persons and bring them to trial before the "Vierschaar," or

* We have no English term for this office: that of county sheriff, (including the duties he usually performs by deputy,) is analogous to it in some respects: the word "Schout" is an abbreviation of "Schould-rechter," a judge of crimes. Grotius, *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche Rechtsgeleerdheyt*, bl. 127.

judicial court of the town. This court was composed of the sheriffs, and had jurisdiction over all civil causes, and over minor offences*, except in some towns, such as Leyden, Dordrecht, &c., where the power of trying capital crimes was specially given to them in the charters granted by the counts^c: the schout was also bound to see the judgments of the *vierschaar* carried into execution^d. Besides the senate there was, in every town, a council of the citizens, called the Great Council, (*Vroedschap*†,) which was summoned in early times when any matter of special importance was to be decided upon; but afterwards their functions, in many of the towns, became restricted to the nomination of the burgomasters and sheriffs for the senate^e. In Hoorn, where the government was on a more popular basis than in most of the other towns of Holland, this council comprised all the inhabitants possessing a capital of two hundred and fifty nobles, and from this circumstance was called the “*Rykdom*,” or wealth. The offices of burgomasters and sheriffs being annual in this city, the members of the “*Rykdom*” met on a certain day in every year for the purpose of electing new ones to fill their places; the ballot was then cast for nine men, who afterwards chose three new burgomasters, and named one of the old to act with them during the year ensuing; twenty-one others were then ballotted for, from whom the schout, on the part of the count, nominated the seven sheriffs^f. In Dordrecht, the most confined and aristocratic of the municipal governments of Holland,

^c Boxhorn, *Theatrum Urbium Holland.*, p. 100, 108, 341:

^d Guicciardini, *Belg. Des.*, tom. i., p. 197.

^e *Idem*, tom. ii., p. 160.

^f Velius “*Handvest.*” in *Chronyk van Hoorn*, bl. 21—60.

* The power of trying offences which were not capital was termed the “low jurisdiction.”

† Literally “council of wise men.”

the great council consisted of forty members, whose office was for life, and who filled up the vacancies as they occurred, by election among themselves. The senate of this town was composed of one burgomaster, whose office was annual, nine sheriffs, and five councillors (raden); four sheriffs and three councillors went out of office one year, five sheriffs and two councillors the next, and so on alternately; their places were filled up by the count, or the schout on his behalf, out of a double number nominated by the council of forty. The only representatives of the people in the government were the so-named "eight good men," (goede luyden van achte,) and their functions were limited to choosing the burgomaster in conjunction with those senators whose term of office had expired; if they were unanimous, their votes reckoned for twelve, but the burgomaster chosen must always be one of the ex-senators^a.

The number of burgomasters and sheriffs, as well as of members of the great councils, differed in different cities, but their duties and mode of election was similar in all, except Rotterdam, where, on the death or removal of any one of the great council, consisting of twenty-four members, the count, or his schout, chose another from three persons named by the rest; the seven sheriffs and three burgomasters were here changed every year, and on the day of election twenty-four beans, five among them being black, were thrown into an urn, from which all the members of the great council drew: those to whom the black beans fell were precluded from filling the offices of the senate themselves, but with them lay the nomination of the double number, from which the count selected the sheriffs and burgomasters^b.

^a Guicc., Belg. Des., tom. ii., p. 160.

^b Idem, p. 162.

The inhabitants of the towns being generally merchants and traders, were divided into guilds of the different trades; at the head of each guild was placed a deacon (*dekken*), to regulate its affairs and protect its interests; and as the towns obtained their charters of privileges from the counts, so did the guilds look to the municipal governments for encouragement and support, and for the immunities they were permitted to enjoyⁱ. Each guild inhabited for the most part a separate quarter of the town, and over every quarter two officers, called “*Wykmeesters*,” were appointed by the burgomasters, whose duty it was to keep a list of all the men in their district capable of bearing arms, to see that their arms were sufficient and ready for use, and to assemble them at the order of the magistrates, or upon the ringing of the town bell: the citizens, on their part, were bound to obey the summons without delay, at any hour of the day or night; over all the *wykmeesters* were placed two, three, or four superior officers, called “*Hoofdmannen*,” or captains of the burgher guards^j. The guilds, when called out to service within the town, assembled, and acted each under their own banners; but in defence of the state they were accustomed to march together under the standard of the town, and dressed in the city livery^k. As every member of a guild was expected to have his arms always ready for use, and the burgher guards (*Schuttery*) were frequently mustered, and drilled under the inspection of the burgomasters and sheriffs, the towns were able to man their walls, and put themselves into a state of defence in an incredibly short space of time. In this manner each town formed, as we

ⁱ Velius Hoorn, boek i., bl. 9.

^j Guicc., Belg. Des., tom. i., p. 180.

^k Velius Hoorn, bl. 54.

have remarked, a species of republic, containing within itself the elements of civil government and military force. The burgher, for the most part, considered his town as his nation, with whose happiness and prosperity his own was inseparably linked, not only as regarded his public, but also his private interests; since his person was liable to be seized for the debts which its government contracted, and the government, on the other hand, if he were too poor to pay the county taxes, stepped in to his relief, and not unfrequently discharged them for him¹. This separate existence (if we may so term it,) of the towns, a source of national strength inasmuch as, by developing to its fullest extent the social activity of the people and giving to each individual a place in the political scale, it formed, as it were, a heart in every one of the extremities of the body politic, was yet a cause of weakness by the disunion, jealousy, and opposition of interests which it occasioned; the patriotism of the Dutchman was but too often confined within the walls of his native city; and we shall have occasion more than once to remark, in the course of Dutch history, that the towns pursuing each their own private views, totally lose sight, for awhile at least, of the interests of the nation in general, and even of their own as members of it.

The municipal government and privileges of the towns extended over a certain space without the walls, which the burghers enlarged as they found occasion by grants obtained from the counts, whether by favour or purchase^m. The portion of the county not included within these limits, and commonly called the "open country," either formed the domains of the nobles or

¹ Velius Hoorn, bl. 90, 147.

^m Boxborn, *Theat. Urb. Holl.*, p. 191, 198 and *passim*.

abbeys, or were governed by bailiffs, whose office was analogous to that of the schout in the towns, and who were, like them, appointed by the count. Both nobles and abbots exercised the low jurisdiction in their states, and sometimes the high jurisdiction also^a: the nobility had the power of levying taxes on the subjects within their own domains, and exercised the right of private warfare among themselves; of the latter privilege they were always extremely jealous, and the efforts of the counts to abolish or modify it were for many centuries unavailing^b: in fact, it fell into disuse in Germany and Holland later than in the other countries of Europe. The nobles were exempt from the taxes of the state, being bound in respect of their fiefs to serve with their vassals in the wars of the county; and if from any cause they were unable to attend in person, they were obliged either to find a substitute or to pay a scutage (*ruytergeld*,) in lieu of their services, in the same manner as other vassals of the count^c: such, however, was only the case when the war was carried on within the boundaries of the county, or had been undertaken by their advice and consent; otherwise the service they rendered depended solely on their own will and pleasure^d. The chief of the nobility were appointed by the count to form the council of state, or supreme court of Holland: the council of state assisted the count in the administration of public affairs, guaranteed all treaties of peace and alliance made with foreign nations; and in its judicial capacity, took cognizance of capital offences, both in the towns (unless otherwise provided by their charters,) and in

^a Chron. Egmond, cap. 30, 64. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 13.

^b Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 39. Melis Stoke, boek x., bl. 399.

^c Grotius, "Inleydinge," &c., bl. 164.

^d Groot Plakaat., deel. v., bl. 713.

the open country. To this court, where the count generally presided in person, lay an appeal in civil causes from all the inferior courts in the state^r.

In after times, as the towns increased in wealth and importance, and the more prolonged and expensive wars in which the counts were engaged rendered their pecuniary support necessary, they, likewise, became parties to the ratification of treaties^{s*}, and were consulted upon matters relating to war or foreign alliances. It was probably the custom of summoning together deputies from the towns for these purposes which gave rise to the assembly of the states, as historians are unable to fix the exact time of its origin. It has been generally supposed that before the middle of the sixteenth century, the six "good towns" only, that is, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Gouda, enjoyed the right of sending deputies to the states^t. This, however, is not altogether the fact. It is true that treaties of peace and alliance were usually guaranteed by the great towns only, and that affairs relating both to domestic and foreign policy were frequently transacted by them in conjunction with the deputies of the nobles, the smaller towns (unwilling to incur the expense of sending deputies to the states,) being content to abide by their decision. But until about 1545 the small towns were constantly summoned to give their votes upon all questions of supply^u, nor did the deputies of the great towns consider themselves autho-

^r Melis Stoke, boek x., bl. 395.

^s Rym. Fced., tom. ii., p. 592.

^t Observations on the United Provinces, by Sir W. Temple, chap. ii., p. 121. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historie*, boek viii., bl. 258.

^u Vide List of the Assemblies in "Regist der Daagvaarten van Holland;" door Aert van der Goes beschreven., *passim*. Edit. in British Museum.

* The first treaty which appears guaranteed by the towns was made with Edward I. of England in 1281.

rized to grant or anticipate the payment of any subsidies without their concurrence^v. The small towns were likewise accustomed to send deputies to the states when a measure was to be discussed which peculiarly regarded their own welfare: as, for example, upon the occasion of a question concerning the imposition of a duty on the exportation of corn, when deputies appeared from most of the towns of the Waterland, where the principal commerce in grain was carried on^w; and in like manner, when unusual precautions were found necessary to secure the herring fishery, deputies of the towns which depended on that trade for their support were summoned to the states to consider of the measures proposed by the government for its protection^x. As it does not appear that the same towns were always summoned to the voting of supplies, it is most probable that the counts invited such of them to appear at the assemblies as they thought most able or willing to contribute towards satisfying their pecuniary demands, in the same manner as our own sovereigns in former times were wont to do.

The deputies to the states were nominated by the senates of the several towns; each town possessing but one voice in the assembly, whatever number of deputies it might send; the whole body of the nobility likewise enjoyed but one vote, though it was often represented by several, never by less than three deputies. The states were generally summoned by the counts to the Hague, or to any other place where they might happen to be residing. It appears to have been competent for any one or more of the towns to call an assembly

^v Aert van der Goes Reg., bl. 48, 98, 329.

^w Idem, bl. 313.

^x Regist. der Daagvaarten van Holland door Adrian van der Goes, ann. 1547, bl. 25.

when and where they judged it expedient; but the more usual practice was to petition either the count or the council of Holland to issue the summons. The deputies of the nobles and towns deliberated separately, and afterwards met together to give their votes, when the nobles voted first, and then the towns, the ancient city of Dordrecht having the precedence¹. The deputies were called together to deliberate upon specific questions only: if any new matter arose, they were obliged to delay their decision until they had consulted their principals upon it; and no measure could be carried, if either the nobles, or any one of the towns, refused to give their vote in its favour².

The principal officers employed by the assembly of the states, were a registrar or keeper of the records, who acted likewise as secretary, and an advocate called the pensionary of Holland, whose business it was to propose all subjects for the deliberation of the states, to declare the votes, and report the decisions of the assembly to the count, or council of state³; although this officer did not possess the right of voting, he was accustomed to take a share in the debates, and generally enjoyed great influence both in the assembly of the states and the whole country; the nobles, likewise, chose a pensionary, nearly always in the person of the same individual. The constitution of the states of Zealand, differed from that of Holland, inasmuch as the clergy in the latter did not form a separate estate, nor were they represented in the assembly; whereas in Zealand, the abbot of St. Nicholas in Middleburg, enjoyed the right of giving the first vote as representative of the

¹ Velius Hoorn, boek ii., bl. 85. Grotius, de Ant. Reip. Bat., cap. 5. Aert van der Goes., Regist., bl. 114.

² Guicc., Belg. Dcs., tom. i., p. 83.

³ Vid. Instruction to the Advocate or Pensionary; Bor., deel. ii., boek xiii., bl. 21.

ecclesiastical state; the Marquis of Veere and Flushing represented the whole body of the nobility, and had likewise one vote, while deputies were sent from six only of the principal towns, Middleburg, Zierikzee, Goes, Veere, Flushing, and Tholen.

The count being accustomed to reside for the most part out of the province, deputed two officers called "Rentmeesters" or treasurers, to collate the fiefs, and to manage the receipt and expenditure of his revenue; to them also, he directed all the decrees and edicts issued by himself or his council, which they were bound to publish and enforce, as well as to seize in his name all suspected persons in the open country and villages, and bring them to trial before the magistrates of Middleburg and Zierikzee. One of these officers had the jurisdiction over West Zealand, the other over East Zealand^b.

It is impossible at this time to define exactly the powers formerly possessed by the states, since during the reign of feeble princes, or minors, they naturally sought to extend them, and often succeeded in so doing; while, on the other hand, they were considerably abridged by the more powerful and arbitrary counts, particularly those of the house of Burgundy. The most essential, however, that of levying taxes, none of the sovereigns of Holland before Philip II. of Spain ever ventured to dispute; and the old feudal principle, that the nation could not be taxed without its own consent, wholly abandoned in France, and evaded in our own country by the practice of extorting benevolences, was in Holland, except in some rare and single instances, constantly and firmly adhered to*. The

^b Guicc., Belg. Des., tom. ii., p. 168—180.

* The imposts levied by the nobles on their domains are to be considered rather in the light of lords' rents than taxes, since the lands of the

counts, on all occasions of extraordinary expense, were obliged to apply for funds to the assembly of the states, and these applications were called "petitions" (Beden), a word in itself denoting that the subsidy was asked as a favour, not claimed as a right. If the "petition" of the count were granted by the states, a certain portion of the sum required was adjudged to each town, and to the open country, (which in this respect was represented by the deputies of the nobility,) and raised by an assessment on houses (Schildtal), and a land-tax (Morgental). This tax was levied in the towns, not by any receiver or officer on the part of the count, but by the senate, which was answerable for the payment of the quotas that the towns had bound themselves to furnish: the custom of levying the taxes on the county in general, was first introduced under the government of the house of Burgundy. The authority of the count, however, was not so limited as it would at first appear. His ordinary revenues were so ample, as to preclude the necessity of making petitions to the states, except in cases of unusual expenditure; in addition to extensive private domains, and the profits of reliefs and of the fiefs which escheated to him as lord^c, he was entitled to the eleventh part of the produce of the land in West Friezland^d; and he had moreover the right of levying tolls on ships passing up and down the rivers; and customs upon all foreign wares imported into the country^e. Besides these sources of revenue, he received considerable sums for such privi-

^c Grotius, Inleydinge, &c., boek ii., deel. 43.

^d Idem, deel. 45.

^e Alpert. de Div. Temp., lib. ii., cap. 20.

vassals were supposed to belong to the lords, and they were not levied on such as held their lands by military service; but as they were unlimited in amount, and almost every article of raw produce was liable to them, they were the cause of grievous oppression.

leges as he granted to the towns^f; which were also accustomed to give gratuities when he was summoned to the court of the emperor; when his son, or brother was made a knight; and upon the marriage of himself, his son, brother, sister, or daughter^g. The important right also possessed by the towns of rejecting any measure proposed in the states, by a single dissentient voice, was considerably modified in practice, in consequence of the influence which the count obtained over them by granting or withholding privileges at his pleasure. He likewise exercised, on many occasions, the power of changing the governments of the towns, out of the due course, but this was always considered as an act of arbitrary violence on his part, and seldom failed to excite vehement remonstrance, as well from the states, as from the town which suffered it.

Thus the constitution of Holland was, as we may gather from the preceding observations, rather aristocratic than republican, being exempt indeed from the slightest leaven of democracy in any of its institutions. Nevertheless, it was in many respects essentially popular in its spirit: although the government of the towns was lodged in the hands of but few individuals, yet as they were generally men engaged in manufactures and commerce, or (in later times) gentry closely connected with them, their wants, interests, and prejudices were identified with those of the people whom they governed; while the short duration of their authority prevented the growth of any exclusive spirit

^f Velius Hoorn, boek i., bl. 13, 14. The count acknowledges the receipt of six hundred new Dort guilders, (a coin worth at that time about a shilling and a penny,) for exemption from tolls at Sparendam, Heusden, and Friezland, and engages that neither the count, nor any one in his name, should commit a citizen of Hoorn to prison. W. Proc., ad ann. 1324.

^g Boxhorn, Theat. Urb. Holl., p. 187.

amongst them, and was a check upon the passing of laws detrimental to the community at large, since they themselves must so soon in the character of private citizens become subject to their operation. Special regulations also were adopted in every town, by which no two members of the government could be within a certain degree of relationship to each other; thus preventing the whole authority from being absorbed by one or more wealthy and powerful families, as was the case in the Italian republics, especially those of Florence and Genoa. The guilds, although they possessed no share in the administration of affairs, yet exercised considerable influence in the towns, from their numbers and wealth; the members also being all armed and organized for the public defence, were equally ready to assemble at a moment's notice for the purpose of obtaining the removal of any grievance, or the redress of any injury which they might conceive themselves, or the inhabitants in general, to have sustained.

The fundamental principles of the government, as recognised by the best authorities, were these:—that the sovereign shall not marry without the consent of the states; that the public offices of the county shall be conferred on natives only; the states have a right to assemble when and where they judge expedient, without permission from the count; it is not lawful for the count to undertake any war, whether offensive or defensive, without the consent of the states; all decrees and edicts shall be published in the Dutch language; the count shall neither coin, nor change the value of money, without the advice of the states; he shall not alienate any part of his dominions; the states shall not be summoned out of the limits of the county; the count shall demand “petitions” of the states in person, and not by deputy, nor shall he exact payment of any

greater sum than is granted by the states; no jurisdiction shall be exercised except by the regular magistrates; the ancient customs and laws of the state are sacred, and if the count make any decree contrary to them, no man shall be bound to obey it^h. It is not meant to be affirmed that these principles were always adhered to; on the contrary, they were frequently violated; and under the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, almost wholly neglected; but the Dutch constantly looked to them as the sheet-anchor of their political existence, and seldom failed to recur to and enforce them whenever an opportunity offered itself for so doing.

I shall conclude this digression, in which I trust I have not sacrificed perspicuity to brevity, with a few remarks on the military force, the administration of justice, and the tenure of property in Holland.

The armies of Europe, before the reign of Charles VII. of France, who first introduced the custom of keeping on foot a regularly disciplined force, were little more than bands of pillaging mercenaries and disorderly troops of vassals; nor had Holland much advantage in this respect, as far as regarded offensive warfare. The towns indeed, on receiving their charters, generally engaged to supply the count in his wars, with a certain number of men at arms, or vessels of war; but these burgher troops were far from composing a regular and disciplined militia; they were, on the contrary, accustomed to march separately, the citizens of each city under their respective banner, headed by their own officers, and distinguished by the livery of their town; and during the whole of the campaign,

^h Groot Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 6, 13. Grotius, de Antiq. Reip. Bat., cap. 5.

they usually remained in separate encampments¹. In the same manner the barons and knights, when summoned by the count to do military service, attended him at the head of their vassals, who were disinclined to obey any commands but theirs². From such a promiscuous and disorganized multitude, it is evident that neither celerity, steadiness, nor uniformity of action was to be expected; they were obliged to serve for a limited time only, during which they were entitled to receive pay³; if, however, the war were undertaken without the consent of the nobles and "good towns," the service was merely voluntary, and during their own pleasure. In case of invasion, every man fit to bear arms, was bound to be provided with them, and to hold himself in readiness to defend his country⁴. The barons and knights wore armour, and served on horseback, as in other countries; but the lesser vassals, the burgher troops and the volunteers, composed the infantry of their armies: these were armed with long knives, and heavy clubs called "Staven" or "Kluppels," having sharp iron points at the end⁵, Danish axes, pikes, and javelins⁶. In battle they usually knelt on the right knee, holding a shield in the left hand, while with the right they threw the javelin, or when in close combat used the sword⁷. The cross-bow was not much known among them until the year 1440^p.

Before the invention of gunpowder, the Dutch

¹ Velius Hoorn., boek i., bl. 54.

² Johan. à Leid., Chron. Belg., lib. xxxi., cap. 6.

³ Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 126. Grotius, Inleydinge, &c., bl. 163.

⁴ Van Loon, Aloude Regeeringe van Hol., bl. 327, 331.

⁵ Huydecop. op Stoke, deel. iii., bl. 82.

⁶ Mat. Par., p. 793. He describes the Freizlanders as peculiarly skilful in the use of the javelin.

⁷ Idem, p. 253.

^p Velius Hoorn, boek i., bl. 34.

employed in their sieges the instruments common during the middle ages. The “Blyde” and “Hoestall” engines for throwing stones, resembling the ancient balista and catapulta; towers built with stages, “Evenhoogen,” to approach the walls^a; and “katten,” or covered galleries, under which the besiegers dug mines^r.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, the Counts of Holland first began to take foreign troops into their pay; but it does not appear that the county was ever infested with those bands of pillagers, which under the name of Free Companies, desolated and ruined France and Italy for so long a period.

The Dutch never, before the union of the provinces, kept any naval force at sea: the high-admiral only having the command of a few small and half-armed guardships. On the breaking out of a maritime war, it was customary to detain a sufficient number of merchant ships (many of which were kept by their owners in a condition to defend themselves) without regard to whether they were freighted or empty, or whether belonging to natives or foreigners; they were armed and equipped by the count or his stadtholder, from stores which were always kept in readiness, and a due and sufficient sum was paid to the proprietors for their use; to these were added the vessels of war which the towns sometimes engaged to furnish instead of troops, and those which they contributed voluntarily, in case they had any particular interest in the issue of the war^s.

Holland has, from the earliest times, been distinguished by the sedulous care with which she has pro-

^a Huydecop. op. Stoke, deel. iii., bl. 281, 290, 312, 313.

^r Du Cange, Gloss in verb. Catus.

^s Guicc. Belg. Des., tom. 1, p. 77. Grotius, Annal. Belg., lib. i., p. 5.

vided for the personal liberty and security of her citizens; not that it is meant to affirm, that in this, any more than in any other country, the rights of individuals were not often violated in the rage of civil tumult and disorder; but the first principles of justice were never either corrupted or undermined; and the Dutch had always laws and institutions for the protection of the weak against the powerful, which they might fall back upon when calmness and reason returned. The administration of justice in the towns was, as we have observed, lodged in the hands of the respective magistrates; the schout, whose office it was to arrest suspected persons, had no power to do so, unless "*flagrante delicto*," without the consent of the burgomasters; he was then bound to bring the accused, within three days, before the "*vierschaar*," or tribunal of the sheriffs*; this court was held with open doors, and liberty allowed for all persons to go in and out at pleasure. Thus publicly the schout brought forward his charge against the accused, and demanded that punishment should be inflicted on him. The accused was allowed the benefit of any advocate he might choose, and to clear himself of the charge by such means as he thought best, being *always confronted with the witnesses*†. Neither if he were too poor to pay an advocate was he left unprotected; pleaders of the first ability being appointed to defend such persons, who performed that office with equal zeal and integrity. If the crime were of a trifling nature, the accused was dismissed upon security that he would appear when

* So that those by whose authority the accused was arrested, were not accustomed to sit in judgment on him.

† This admirable regulation contrasts strongly with the usage of our own country, where, in trials for treason, the accused were seldom, or never, confronted with the witnesses.

called upon, and his trial was postponed until the more important cases were disposed of: in case it turned out that the charge were made without foundation, the schout was obliged to pay the expenses. This wise provision protected the citizens against vexatious accusations on the part of the count, while the power of arrest being lodged in the hands of his officer, was not likely to be used on frivolous pretexts, at the instigation either of the municipal authorities, or of private enemies. If the crime proved against the accused were of a heinous nature, he was put to the torture. Although the Netherlanders were not sufficiently in advance of the rest of Europe to abolish this barbarous and fallacious mode of ascertaining the guilt or innocence of the accused, yet it was used with the utmost precaution. Before the judges could order its execution, they were bound to have the consent of the great council of the town, and the culprit was deprived of his burgessship: the presence of two of the sheriffs was necessary when the schout inflicted the torture, and he was obliged to stop at their command. The culprit was required to repeat his confession the next morning in some public place of the city, so that neither he, nor any one else, might afterwards affirm that it had been extorted by torture. Being brought again before the magistrates, sentence was pronounced against him, and executed under the inspection of the schout within twenty-four hours. Sepulture was denied to such as were executed for capital crimes, unless a particular exception were made, which was sometimes purchased for a sum of money. Rather less ceremony was observed in the use of the torture upon foreigners residing in the state, but in other respects they were treated as natives^t.

^t Guicc., Belg. Des., tom. i., p. 193, 197.

Offences in the open country were tried before the council of Holland, or before the count's bailiff, assisted by his vassals, or by the so-called "well-born men;" that is, such as, not being noble, were descended from free and honourable ancestors, had the right of bearing arms, of riding with one spur, and were scot free^a. If the accused were a vassal belonging to the domain of a baron, he was tried by a court composed of the lord and his vassals; but in case the lord possessed only the low jurisdiction, and the crime committed were capital, it was necessary to bring him before the court of Holland. There is no evidence (that I can discover) of anything like a trial by jury.

It would be vain to attempt to give an account of the several punishments awarded to offences, as they differed in different places, being regulated for the most part in the special charters of the towns, often by prescriptive customs, and sometimes by the discretion of the judge. In cases of homicide, besides the punishment inflicted by the state, it was necessary to make an atonement and reconciliation (*zoen*) with the relatives of the deceased; the mode of effecting which was so curious, that some account of it will scarcely be deemed tedious. When a person suffered death by the act of another, the next of kin of the deceased was bound immediately to make his complaint before the count's bailiff; in former times, in presence of the dead body, but from the year 1349, when, for reasons which will appear hereafter, cases of homicide became more frequent, so that it was often found impossible to hear them within a requisitely short space of time, it was usual to cut off the right hand of the corpse, and preserve it instead; and subsequently, the cupidity of the officers of the court introduced the custom of

^a Grot., *Inl.*, &c., b. i., deel. 14.

giving money to avoid this ceremony. The complainant must then, with four others of the relations of the deceased, to be chosen by those of the accused, or by the judge, swear four times, that he will accuse no man unjustly. After this he made his alarm ("wapenroep*") over the open grave prepared for the deceased, declaring to God in heaven, to the count, to the bailiff of the district, and to all good people, how, where, when, and by whom, he had been wilfully put to death, and that thereby, the peace of God in heaven, the peace of the Count of Holland, and the peace of the bailiff, was broken, and praying that justice might be done for such injury. This being ended, the relations of the deceased, to the third degree, were at liberty to seize the delinquent; and if they slew him, were bound only to pay a fine of four farthings, and lay the weapon wherewith he was slain on his body†; or atonement might be made before the burial of the deceased, which was likewise done over the open grave, between the relations to the third degree on both sides, and under the mediation of competent persons chosen in the district. The delinquent then appearing, sued for pardon on his knees, and a sum of money was paid by his relations to those of the deceased, proportioned to his station (the life of a noble being valued more highly than that of a person not noble), and the degree of criminality of the delinquent, such as whether the homicide amounted to murder, that is, were committed in secret, by lying in wait, and taking the victim unawares, and from motives of malice, hatred, or anger; or whether it were done in open combat, with lawful or unlawful, equal or unequal weapons‡, and

* Literally, call to arms.

† If this happened, no atonement would be required.

‡ Thus, if a sudden affray occurred between two burghers, armed for

what had given rise to the quarrel. Atonement being thus made, a reconciliation (*zoen*) followed, the parties joining hands, and swearing to keep the peace towards each other "so long as the wind blew, and the cock crew;" and he who violated this peace, incurred the loss of his right hand. In the year 1460, however, those relations of the delinquent who could prove themselves to have had no share in, or knowledge of, the homicide, were exempt from the payment of the atonement. Maiming was estimated at one-third in proportion to homicide, and atonement was made for lesser wounds, without an alarm, by payments in proportion to their severity. A person guilty of homicide was bound, moreover, to make compensation (*vergoeding**) by way of annuity, to the widow, children, or such kindred of the deceased as were accustomed to be supported by his labour or bounty. The degree of guilt of the offender, though it made a difference in the punishment and the atonement, made none in the compensation; to which the physician who occasioned the death of a patient through ignorance, the driver of a carriage, or the captain of a vessel, who, by his negligence or want of skill, sacrificed the lives of those entrusted to his care, were equally liable. If the count pardoned the offender, the wife and children were at liberty to insist upon his making a humble confession of his guilt, that he should give place to them wherever they met, and bestow a donation on the poor. In cases of purely accidental, or that which amongst ourselves comes under the denomination of

the performance of their military duties, and one of them were slain, the degree of criminality of the slayer would be reckoned comparatively less.

* The "*weregild*" of our Saxon ancestors seems to have comprehended both the atonement and the compensation.

justifiable, homicide, neither compensation nor atonement were required^v.

The law of inheritance was not, before the end of the sixteenth century, uniform throughout the county of Holland. In North Holland*, the ancient law of Friezland, termed "Aasdoms-regt†" prevailed; by which the maxim was held, that "the nearest blood takes the good ‡;" with the modification, however, that "property does not easily ascend§;" otherwise it was so strictly interpreted, that on the death of an intestate, his living children inherited his estate, as a degree nearer to him in blood, to the exclusion of the children of a son who may have died before him; but if no children were left, then the grandchildren came in, before the parents, who stood next in succession||; then followed the brothers and sisters, without regard to whether they were of the whole or half blood; and in this case, the children of one deceased, stood in the place of their parent. In default of brothers and sisters, and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of the intestate inherited, whether by the father's or mother's side, regard being had to proximity alone, and so on through all the degrees of kindred.

In Zealand and South Holland, the rule of succession termed the "Schependom's-regt," and supposed to be derived from the old law of the Franks, held,

^v Grot., *Inl.*, &c., b. iii., deel. 32, 33.

* Likewise Friezland, Utrecht, the Veluwe, and Zutphen.

† From "Azing," an old Friezland word, signifying judge, or president of a court of the so-called "well-born men." Vid. p. 138.

‡ "Het naeste bloed beurt het goet."

§ "Het goet en klimt niet gaern."

|| Thus, if a man inherited an estate from his father, and died without issue before his mother, the estate fell to her.

that "property must go back from whence it came;" not applying, however, to children and their descendants who inherited first, representative succession being admitted; in default of direct descendants the parents succeeded in case both were alive; but if one were dead, the estate did not go to the survivor, because it could not be supposed to have come from thence, but to the heirs of the deceased parent. Brothers and sisters of the half-blood, were entitled to a moiety only of the share of those of the whole; unless in case one parent survived, when the brothers and sisters of the whole blood by the side of the deceased parent, and the half by the side of the survivor, took an entire share^v.

The inheritance of real and personal property under these laws, followed the usual rule with respect to places where customs differ. Thus, if a man whose land was situated in a part of the country where the "Schependoms-regt" prevailed, happened to die intestate in a place subject to the "Aasdoms-regt," the succession to his real estate followed the former rule, while the distribution of his personal property was guided by the latter, and *vice versa*^x. In 1580, the states promulgated a new law of inheritance, amalgamating in some degree both these customs, which was pretty generally adopted. Parents could not by will pass over or disinherit their children, or leave more than two-thirds of their property away from them, nor more than the half if their number exceeded four, unless in consequence of certain specified offences committed by the latter against their parents. Property, both real and personal, except lands held by feudal tenure, was equally divided amongst all the children^y.

^v Grotius, Inleydinge, &c., b. ii., deel. 28.

^x Idem, deel. 26.

^y Idem, deel. 18.

A considerable portion of the land in Holland was held by feudal tenure, fiefs being of two kinds; such as were held immediately of the count, termed fiefs proper; and arrier-fiefs, or those held under his vassals, since no man who was not himself a vassal of the count, could be lord of a fief in the county. These were again divided into perfect and imperfect, or noble and base fiefs; of which the latter reverted to the lord on failure of direct male heirs, unless the succession of females in the right line were expressly provided for in the original grant. These fiefs did not admit of representative succession; but descended to a younger son surviving his parent, in preference to the children of an elder, who had died before him. The perfect, or noble fief, did not revert to the lord, so long as any kindred remained of the feoffee, of either sex, direct or collateral, and whether by the male or female (sword or spindle) side to the tenth degree, males being preferred before females, and the elder to the younger; thus, on failure of issue, and of brothers and sisters, the estate would devolve on the son of a sister, in preference to the daughters of the brothers, and in default of males to the eldest female, whether she were the daughter of a sister, or a brother; in like manner, on failure of nearer kin, the estate of the feoffee would devolve to the eldest male, and in default of males, to the eldest female of the cousins-german, without regard to whether they were of the father's or mother's side. Of the latter kind, were those fiefs which the possessors of free (or allodial) estates had created, by surrendering their lands into the hands of the count, or some powerful noble, to be received of him again in fee, in order to become thereby entitled to his protection*; many

* Guicciardini, Des. Belg., tom. ii., p. 158. Grotius, Inleydinge, &c., b. ii., deel. 41.

were so created during the troubled times which will hereafter come under our notice.

All fiefs in the county were held by liege, none by simple homage, which was customary chiefly among sovereign princes to each other. The obligation on the part of the lord towards his vassal was protection and defence (*schut ende scherm*); on that of the vassal, homage and allegiance, whereby he bound himself to be faithful to his lord; to follow his standard in war*; to seek his advantage; to counsel him to the best of his ability; to aid and assist him; and to reveal to him anything that came to his knowledge likely to do him an injury. Besides homage, a relief was due from the vassal to the lord upon taking possession of a fief, the amount of which was generally specified in the grant, and often consisted of nothing more than a falcon, greyhound, spurs, or such like acknowledgment, which was sometimes commuted for money. If no relief were specified, the amount was fixed at ten carolus guilders for a large or middling fief, and one year's fruits for a small fief. The large fiefs were such as comprised the high or low jurisdiction, or were valued at an annual income of three hundred guilders (about thirty pounds); those which produced less than three hundred, and more than ten guilders, were reckoned as middling, and such as were under ten, were called

* Such only as held their fiefs by military tenure were properly bound to this condition; and there is little doubt that in foreign wars the attendance of the vassals on the lord was confined to them; but in the private wars of the nobles, the obligation to aid and assist comprised within itself the taking up arms in defence of the lord, and it appears that all the tenants on his estate, let the nature of their tenure be what it might, were accustomed to perform this service when called upon. Indeed it is scarcely to be imagined that they would expose themselves to the effects of his anger by refusing. *Ann. Eg., cap. 84, et passim.* The lord of Egmond here obliges all his "villani" to lay siege to the abbey.

small fiefs; of these, the latter were generally held by what we term soccage tenure, that is, the payment of a yearly rent^a. Homage was to be rendered by the heir, within a year and six weeks from the time the fief had devolved to him; after which he was permitted to enjoy it only upon payment of a double relief. Minors were to do homage by their guardians; but were equally liable to the payment of a double relief in case of neglect. On the death of the lord, his vassals were bound to do homage to his successor; but were not required to pay a fresh relief^b. I find nowhere any mention of wardship (the custody of the lands of a vassal during his minority), or marriage (the power of disposing of a female vassal in marriage), as rights claimed by the lord, nor any trace of their existence.

Fowling, and fishing in the rivers and inland waters (except with a rod and line, which was open to all), appertained solely to the count, or to such persons as he might grant permission; every one of noble birth was at liberty to take hares and rabbits on his estate; but it was penal for any person of lower degree to destroy them, even upon his own land, whatever devastation they might commit. The chase of the larger animals was reserved for the count, except that each baron (*vryheer*) was allowed to hunt one hart in the year^c.

Fiefs might be lost by the tenant, either through escheat or forfeiture. Escheatment of a fief occurred through failure of heirs, which in imperfect fiefs not unfrequently happened, especially during seasons of war or civil commotions; and in this case, the earlier counts were accustomed to grant the fief to the nearest collateral heir, upon payment of a reasonable sum;

^a Grot. *Inleyd.*, b. ii., deel. 41.

^b *Idem*, deel. 43.

^c *Idem*, b. i., deel. 37; b. ii., deel. 1.

forfeiture ensued as a consequence of the infidelity of the vassal, or of an injury or offence committed by him against his lord; in the former case, the lord might enter at once upon the fief, by virtue of his right of dominion; but in the latter, he was obliged to abide the issue of an action at law. If a lord, by the judgment of a court composed of his vassals, were found guilty of neglecting the protection or defence of any one of them, he forfeited his right to the allegiance of that vassal, whose estate became thenceforth free, or allodial; or a lord might voluntarily relinquish his rights over his vassal, when the effect on the estate of the latter was the same; but the lord of a fief which had become so by the voluntary surrender of the proprietor, could not transfer his rights to any one inferior to himself in station or power^d. The lord could not withhold his consent to the transfer of a perfect fief, whether by gift, exchange, or sale; but the Count of Holland, by paying the price agreed upon between the vendor and purchaser, within a year and a day of the conclusion of the bargain, might stand in the place of the latter. Whether the lords of arrier-fiefs possessed this right appears doubtful. In the transfer of imperfect fiefs, the consent of the lord was not claimed as a right, but asked as a favour, or purchased for a consideration^e.

It seems probable, that a species of copyhold estates were often created by those proprietors of allodial lands, who, not being themselves vassals of the count, were not competent to grant fiefs. The word copyhold (*Erfhuur*, or hereditary lease,) is used, because the tenure resembles that so termed in this country, such as it became in course of time, more than any other; though different in its origin, since it was never sup-

^d Grot. Inleyd., &c., b. ii., decl. 42.

^e Idem, decl. 43.

posed to be held at the will of the lord, ~~but~~ when not perpetual, (similar to our customary freehold,) held either for a term of years, or restricted to certain heirs of the first possessor; in the latter case, custom provided, as amongst us, that the estate being demanded, and the services of the copyhold performed, the lord could not refuse to admit the next heir of the tenant on his death. The succession to a copyhold estate extended to all the heirs of the tenant, female as well as male, and even to illegitimate children through the mother. It differed from that to a perfect fief in the latter particular, and also inasmuch as it was in its nature divisible, (though the lord was not bound to recognise the division, but might require the services of the copyhold from whichever tenant he pleased,) whereas the fief could not be divided, except with the consent of the lord, when the same relief was due for each part, as for the whole.

A copyhold might be forfeited by the tenant, through omitting to pay the lord's rent for three years successively, or neglecting to perform the requisite services; but the lord could not, in such cases, enter upon the lands of his tenant, except by virtue of a decision of a court of law; and if he failed to make his claim during the third part of a century, the estate of the tenant became a freehold^f.

Lands were likewise held by yearly tenancy, and the holders of these, as well as copyholds, were classed under the denomination of villeins*; but it is difficult to determine what services were exacted from these villeins, or whether they were precisely defined. In

^f Grot. Inleyd., b. ii., deel. 40, 41.

* "Villani;" not exactly in the sense we use the term, but as the inhabitants of "vills," farm or country houses. Ann. Egm., cap. 84.

the surrender of the lordship of some copyhold lands, by the abbey of Egmond to the lord of Egmond, are mentioned: the duty-fish (*hofvisch*), or the choice of one out of every boat load of fish landed from the sea; the mill-due (*molenrecht*), that is, a portion of every sack of wheat carried to the mill to be ground (it being unlawful either to erect or remove a mill without permission of the lord); and the carriage due (*waagenrecht*), or the right of using the carts and horses belonging to the tenants at pleasure. Upon these lands, besides a yearly rent, payments were due of "silver, pepper, capons, sheep, platters, and such like things," probably in the nature of heriots. Yearly tenants, besides the annual rent and other "expences, exactions, and contributions," appear to have been bound to keep the dikes, sluices, and dams on the estate in repair^s.

It seems doubtful whether any portion of the inhabitants of Holland were in a state of actual servitude or bondage. Grotius speaks of them as at all times divided into the three classes of nobles, well-born men, and common people (*gemeene luyden*), without any mention of serfs as having ever existed. In ancient times, however, the distinction between a noble and a person not noble, was very considerable; the life of the former was valued at a higher price than that of the latter, in making atonement for a homicide; the nobles alone were eligible to the supreme court, or council of state, and were exempt from the public taxes; and there were some cases in which one not noble could not give either information or evidence against a noble^h. It is evident, indeed, that the condition of the tenants on the estates of the nobility was very far inferior in security and happiness to that

^s *Annales Egmond.*, cap. 73.

^h *Grot. Inleyd.*, &c., b. i., deel. 14.

enjoyed by the inhabitants of the towns, particularly where the lord exercised jurisdiction in his domain; since it must have been next to impossible for the inferior vassals and villeins to obtain redress of any wrong or injury he might commit against them, when the tribunal in which they must seek it, was a court composed of the vassals themselves*. Nevertheless, the circumstances of their being always prepared with arms for the common defence, (which they were apt to use in their own when occasion required,) and the facility with which they might remove to the towns, where they would be sure to find employment, shelter, and protection, would be likely to prove a powerful check upon the commission of any acts of gross tyranny or oppression.

* An appeal indeed, in all civil cases, lay to the supreme court of Holland; but this, from the difficulty and expense attendant on it, could be but very rarely resorted to, particularly in the earlier times.

CHAPTER III.

Florence V. Minority. Government of Florence, his Uncle. Charters granted to Zealand. Treaty with Flanders. Death of Florence the Elder. Otto of Guelderland, Regent. Revolt of the Kemmerlanders. Florence assumes the Government. His Marriage. War with West Friezland. Alliance with England. Subjugation of West Friezland. Revolt of the Zealand Nobles, and War with Flanders. Pacification. Pretensions to the Scottish Crown. Rupture of the Friendship between Holland and England. Treaty with France. Conspiracy of the Nobles. Death and Character of Florence. Minority of John I. State of Holland. Divided Regency. John of Avennes. War with Utrecht and West Friezland. And Flanders. Return of Count John from England. Departure of John of Avennes. Wolfert van Borselen made Governor. Finally subdues the West Friezlanders. Peace with Utrecht. Ambition and Influence of Borselen. Dispute with Dordrecht. Death of Borselen and of the Bailiff of South Holland. Return of John of Avennes. Death of the Count. County transferred to the Family of Hainault.

FLORENCE was born during the time that the emperor, his father, was besieging Charles of Anjou in Valenciennes, and was consequently scarcely two years old at the time of his death; he was, nevertheless, immediately acknowledged by the nobles, and the government of the county, during his minority, was confided to his uncle Florence, who had gained considerable reputation in the war with Margaret of Flanders. Equally inclined with his brother to favour the increase and advancement of the towns, the governor granted charters of privileges to nearly all those of Zealand which did not yet enjoy them^b. He likewise concluded the treaty of peace with Flanders, begun in the last year: it was agreed that the Counts of Holland should con-

^a Melis Stoke, boek iii., bl. 110. Schryver's Graaven, i. deel., bl. 507.

^b Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 181.

tinue to hold the five islands as a fief of Flanders; that the Count of Flanders should receive ten thousand pounds (Flemish) from Holland; and that either Florence, or the young count, when he came of age, should marry Beatrice, daughter of Guy of Dampierre: Guy, and his brother John, were released from their imprisonment upon payment of heavy ransoms^c. The county did not long enjoy the pacific government of Florence the Elder, since he was killed in a tournament at Antwerp, little more than two years after his accession^d. Upon his death, Adelaide, countess-dowager of Hainault, the widow of John of Avennes, assumed the guardianship of the young count, and the administration of affairs, under the title of Governess of Holland; but the nobles, disdaining to submit to female rule, invited Otho of Guelderland, cousin of Adelaide, to undertake the government of the county, until Count Florence should attain his majority; the person of the infant prince still remaining, nevertheless, under the care of his aunt^e.

During the administration of Otho, a dangerous revolt broke out among the people of Kemmerland, who, uniting with those of Friezland and Waterland, declared their determination to expel all the nobles from the country, and raze their castles to the ground. They first took possession of Amsterdam, the lord of which, Gilbert van Amstel, either unable to make resistance against the insurgents, or desirous of employing them to avenge a private quarrel he had with the Bishop of Utrecht, consented to become their leader, and immediately conducted them to the siege of that city.

Perceiving the multitude approach, the citizens ran

^c Meyer, *Ann. Fland.*, lib. ix., ad ann. 1256, p. 78.

^d Melis Stoke, *boek iv.*, bl. 184. ^e Idem, bl. 186—191.

to arms, and hastily manned the walls and bulwarks of the town. A parley ensued, when one of the Kemmerlanders vehemently exhorted the besieged to banish all the nobles from Utrecht, and divide their wealth among the poor. Fired by his oration, the people quitted the walls, seized upon the magistrates, whom they forced to resign their offices, drove them, with all the nobles, out of the town, and admitting the besiegers within the gates, made a league of eternal amity with them. After remaining a short time at Utrecht, the insurgents returned to Kemmerland, and laid siege to Haarlem, which was gallantly defended by the nobles and burgesses, until John Persyn, a soldier of the garrison, leaving the town in disguise, set fire to several houses and villages belonging to the besiegers. The Kemmerlanders then, seeing the conflagration behind them, hastily retreated, and being pursued by the men of Haarlem, a considerable number were slain, and the remainder dispersed. Utrecht shortly after submitted to the authority of the bishop. The cause of this insurrection appears to have been, the extortion practised upon the people by the nobles, most of whom, as we have observed, exercised the right of levying taxes in their own domains^f.

On the death of the Count of Guelderland, Flo- 1271
rence, being then seventeen, took the conduct of affairs into his own hands, and about the same time completed his marriage with Beatrice of Flanders, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1256^g. Early in the next year he made preparations for an expedition into West Friesland, for the purpose of avenging his father's death. He carried on the war for five years, with various success, and leaving his subjects in that province still

^f Beka in Johan., p. 92, 93,

^g Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 193, 194.

1277 unsubdued, repaired in 1277 to Bois le Duc, where he received knighthood from John, duke of Brabant. On his return to Holland, he banished, for some unknown cause of offence, his aunt Adelaide, and all her children, from his dominions^b.

After a few years of repose, Florence, still intent
1282 on avenging the death of his father, again sailed to West Friezland, accompanied by a large fleet of ships, and effected a landing at Wydenesse: the Friezlanders, on the tidings of his approach, assembled in great numbers near the village of Schellinghout, where they were attacked by the Holland troops, and after a desperate battle, totally defeated; twelve hundred remained dead on the field; the rest were put to flight, and many more killed in the pursuit. Florence, with his army, followed them as far as Hoogtwoude, which was plundered and burnt. Here an aged man among the prisoners, upon a promise that his life should be spared, discovered to him the spot where the body of his father had been buried. No sooner had he obtained this long-wished-for treasure, than he left Friezland, carrying the corpse to Middleburgh, where he caused it to be interred with royal magnificence^c. Upon this occasion, he despatched a letter containing an account of his victory over his "mortal enemies," to Edward I., king of England, with whom he was at this time upon terms of the closest alliance^d.

The trade carried on by the Hollanders with England was now become highly valuable to both nations; the former giving a high price for the English wools for their cloth manufactures, while they procured

^b Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 195—204.

^c Beka in Johan., p. 94. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 211—215.

^d Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 223.

thence (chiefly, perhaps from Cornwall) their silver for the purpose of coinage¹. A quarrel between the merchants of the two countries, some years before this time, had been followed by numerous acts of piracy on the part of the Zealanders, in consequence of which, Edward, in the year 1275, ordered that all Zealand ships coming into the ports of England should be arrested. Florence, unwilling to lose a commerce so advantageous to his subjects, granted shortly after a safe conduct to all English merchants trading to his states; but four years elapsed before he was able to obtain permission for the ships of Zealand to frequent the ports of England as usual^m.

About the same time, with the grant of this per- 1281 mission, a treaty was set on foot for the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Count Florence, with Alphonso, son of the King of England. Margaret was to have as her portion, whichever moiety of the county of Holland the king should choose, and to inherit the whole, in case Florence died without a son; the disputes between the merchants were, by the same treaty, referred to arbitrators chosen on both sidesⁿ.

The birth of a son to Florence shortly after, and the subsequent death of Alphonso, rendered this contract ineffectual; but prior to the latter event, another 1285 marriage was agreed upon, between John, the count's infant son, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward; the king engaging to pay fifty thousand livres* (tournois) as her portion, and the count settling upon her a dowry of six thousand livres†. According to the terms of

¹ Rym. Fœd., p. 284.

^m Idem, p. 59, 62, 156.

ⁿ Idem, tom. ii., p. 175, 176, 177.

* 9114*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Recherches sur le Com., tom. i., p. 176, note 41.

† 1093*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* Idem.

the treaty, John was sent to the court of the King of England, where he remained until the completion of the marriage^o.

The friendship cemented by this alliance, was highly advantageous to the commerce of Holland: the staple of English wool was fixed at Dordrecht*, a town of extensive trade in wines, grain, salt, iron, wood, and cloths: and the subjects of the count were permitted to fish, without restriction, on the English coast at Yarmouth^p. This is the first grant we find of a privilege, which the Dutch continued to enjoy, with little interruption, until the time of Cromwell.

After the departure of the army of Holland from West Friezland, the inhabitants renewed their hostilities, and made several unsuccessful attacks upon a fort which the count had built at Wydenesse; but a
 1286 dreadful storm, which this year laid the whole of the
 -7 country on both sides the Zuyderzee entirely under water†, proved the means of enabling Count Florence to effect their complete subjugation. The floods rose to such a height, that every part of the province was accessible to a numerous fleet of small vessels called cogs, well manned, and placed under the command of Theodore, lord of Brederode; the inhabitants of the several towns, being unprovided with a sufficient number of boats to oppose those of the count, found their communication with each other wholly cut off; and thus reduced to a state of blockade, and unable to render

• Melis Stoke, 2 deel., bl. 239. Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 307.

† Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 243, 244. Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 688.

* The chronicler observes, that "this did not last long, for it was an *English Contract*."

† The flood overwhelmed fifteen islands in Zealand, and destroyed fifteen thousand persons. Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1287.

the slightest mutual assistance, they severally acknowledged the authority of Count Florence¹.

In the summer of the same year, Florence repaired in person to West Friezland, built strong castles in different parts of the province, made great improvements in the roads, granted a charter and freedom from tolls to the city of Medemblick, and took such pains to conciliate the good-will of the Friezlanders, that before the end of his reign we shall find them acting the part of affectionate and devoted subjects². It was fortunate for Count Florence that he was able to effect thus speedily the pacification of Friezland, since the discontents which had spread among his nobles, ere long, raised him up other enemies.

The evils of feudal government began at this period to be severely felt: the nobles, safe in their fortified castles, and supreme in their petty domains, exercised unbounded sway over their vassals, whose right of appeal to the superior lord against any act of tyranny or aggression on the part of their masters, proved a mere phantom, in the hands of the poor and feeble, against the rich and powerful. Rendered thus subservient by fear, and alike unable and unwilling to refuse obedience to any command of their lord, however unlawful, the vassals of every noble formed a band of satellites ready at all times to do his bidding, whether it were to make war upon those with whom he had any cause of feud, to plunder the peaceful and industrious trader, or to resist the authority of his sovereign; to whom, indeed, supported by them, and protected by his privileges, he yielded just as much deference as he thought fit, and no more. We shall therefore find the able monarchs, who at this time

¹ Wilhelm. Procurator van Egmond ad ann. 1287.

² Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 224—227.

governed the principal nations of Europe, Philip IV. of France, and Edward I. of England, agreeing in the system of policy which tended to encourage the rising wealth and influence of the towns, in order to depress by their means the exorbitant power of the nobles, dangerous alike to the authority of the monarch and the security of the people. The feudal system was, it is true, considerably modified in Holland, since the nobles do not appear to have ever enjoyed the privilege of coinage, as in France, Spain, England*, and some parts of Germany; a privilege, indeed, which could hardly have been tolerated among a mercantile people, such as the Dutch; the high jurisdiction also, or right of trying capital offences, belonged to them only in a few instances: but on the other hand, they possessed an unlimited power of taxation in their states, and exercised it sometimes to an extent which, as we have seen, aroused the people to revolt. The counts, in their attempts to restrain their excesses, found themselves destitute alike of the influence generally possessed by the sovereign of a large state, and the reverence which the name of king naturally inspires; while they were, at the same time, deficient to a far greater degree in actual coercive force†. So much the more, therefore, would they be desirous of creating a balance to their power, and accordingly, the

* This injurious custom, as well as the exercise of the high jurisdiction, appears to have been carried to a great extent in England, if we may judge from the quotation of Du Cange from *Wilhelmus Neubrigensis*: "Erant in Anglie quodammodo tot Reges, vel potius tyranni, quot Domini castellorum, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, et potestatem subditis Regio more dicendi juris." Du Cange, in *Moneta*.

† We shall find that so late as the year 1403, when the power of the nobility had greatly declined, that the count was obliged to strengthen his army with foreign auxiliaries, in order to reduce a single rebellious noble to obedience.

predecessors of Count Florence had, from the beginning of this century, granted valuable charters of immunities, from time to time, to the different towns; and Florence himself on all occasions favoured their interests, and those of the people, in opposition to the nobles. Such conduct naturally excited the jealousy 1287 of that order, and a tax of the fourth penny, arbitrarily levied by the count on Zealand*, provoked the principal lords of the province, headed by Wolford van Borselen, and John van Renesse, to raise the standard of rebellion, and to offer their allegiance to Guy, count of Flanders. The Counts of Flanders were never found to turn a deaf ear to any proposal of creating annoyance and disquiet to their Holland neighbours, and Guy readily consented to make common cause with the nobles; and joining his troops to those they had collected, laid siege to Middleburg, which city agreed to surrender, if not relieved within a certain time^s. On the advance of Count Florence to Zeirikzee, at the head of a large body of land and sea forces, for the purpose of raising the siege of Middleburg, further hostilities were suspended by the mediation of John, duke of Brabant; Guy evacuated Walcheren, on the promise of Florence to pardon, and restore to their estates, all the nobles engaged in the rebellion, except Wolford van Borselen, who was banished^t.

The happy termination of this revolt permitted Count Florence to undertake a journey to England,

^s Wilhelm. Procurator ad ann. 1287. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 228—233.

^t Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 233—238.

* Wilhelm. Procurator ad ann. 1287 does not say on what species of property this tax was levied, or whether Florence attempted to impose it on the nobles, but the consequences that ensued would lead one to suppose that he did so. The military vassals were, by the tenure of their fiefs, exempt from taxation.

for the purpose of advancing his pretensions to the throne of Scotland, vacant by the death of Margaret, commonly called the Maid of Norway, grand-daughter and heiress of Alexander III. Florence was descended in a direct line from Ada, daughter of Henry, eldest son of David I., king of Scotland, who married, in the year 1162, Florence III., count of Holland. On this
 1291 ground he appeared among the numerous competitors for the crown, who, at the conferences held at Norham, submitted their claims to Edward I. of England^u, and however remote his pretensions, the native historians inform us that his renunciation of them was purchased by the successful candidate with a considerable sum of money, and the contemporary chronicler, Melis Stoke, reprobates, in no very measured terms, the advice that persuaded him thus, like another Esau, to sell his birthright *^v.

The amity between the two courts, which this transaction appeared likely still further to consolidate, was in a very few years broken, on the occasion of a war between Holland and Flanders. Guy, whether unable to resist the temptation of possessing himself the islands of Zealand, or whether irritated by the non-observance of the last treaty on the part of Florence,
 1295 made a sudden irruption into the island of South Beveland. Florence solicited in vain succours from the King of England, who evaded his request under various pretexts, and took no further interest in the

^u Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 531, 532.

^v Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 240. Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1287.

* "I would," he says, "that the man were hung by the neck who gave him such counsel! How durst he think of advising him to sell a kingdom which was his by inheritance?" Had the partisans of all the rivals been equally zealous with the rhymer, it would have cost Scotland even more warfare and bloodshed than it did, before their claims were settled.

cause of his ally, than to delegate the Lord of Cuyck to mediate their differences. Though the Zealanders defeated the Flemings, and forced them to retire into their own country, yet Florence felt no less indignation at this breach of friendship on the part of Edward, whose interests now prompted him to court the alliance of Guy of Flanders, in preference to that of Holland^w.

The mutual piracies and aggressions exercised for some years by the crews of the French and English 1295 vessels in the channel, had given rise to a war between the two countries; and Edward, anxious to secure the support of the powerful vassal of his opponent, proposed a marriage between his eldest son and Philippa, daughter of Count Guy; bestowed on him the sum of three hundred thousand livres in payment of the auxiliaries he should furnish during the war, and removed the staple of English wool from Dordrecht to Bruges and Mechlin, to the great detriment of the trade and manufactures of Holland^x.

Finding that Edward had thus made a league with his enemy, Florence determined to accept the offers of friendship made him by Philip of France, who courted the alliance of foreign princes, no less eagerly than Edward. He therefore repaired to that court in person, accompanied by several of his nobles, towards the end of the same year, and the two sovereigns con- Jan. cluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, 1296 with the reservation only, that the Count of Holland should not be bound to engage in an offensive war against the emperor, or the King of England. Philip was to make no peace without including Holland, and to indemnify the count in case Edward should refuse

^w Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 677. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 247—256.

^x Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 737. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 244.

to complete the marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and his son^γ. From a stipulation made by the French king, that his friends and allies should be at liberty to provide themselves with vessels, provisions, and ammunition in Holland, we may conclude that commerce and shipping were at this period in a very flourishing condition.

The news of the alliance between Holland and France excited to a high degree the wrath of the King of England: he wrote to the emperor, complaining of the ingratitude of his vassal, the Count of Holland, and declared that he would detain John, his son, in prison, unless it were immediately dissolved^z; and it is supposed, that at this time he first formed the design of seizing the person of Florence and conveying him to imprisonment, either in England or Flanders; a scheme which he was not long in finding instruments able and willing to execute, though the event was probably more fatal than he had anticipated.

It has been observed, that the disregard in which Count Florence held the nobility, had excited in the greater number a spirit of jealousy and hostility against him; he was, moreover, severe in punishing any act of oppression or injustice which they might commit upon the people: the late treaty with France also, was generally displeasing to them, although some few had become parties to it, by affixing their signatures as guarantees^a. Besides these causes of dissatisfaction, which were common to the whole body of nobles, the count had aroused in the breasts of many individuals among them, feelings of personal hatred and revenge.

^γ Dumont, Corps Dip., tom i., p. i., p. 295. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 254—257.

^z Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 117. Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1206.

^a Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1206, 1287.

Gilbert, lord of Amstel, had, some years before, been engaged in a petty warfare against his liege lord the Bishop of Utrecht, and the Count of Holland coming to the assistance of the latter, had defeated his rebellious vassal, and forced him to surrender his lordship of Amstel, which he conferred upon John Persyn, the same who had signalized himself in suppressing the revolt of the Kemmerlanders, conducted by Gilbert van Amstel. Hermann, lord of Woerden, Gilbert's confederate and ally, had in like manner been forced to resign Woerden into the hands of Florence, from whom he received it again in usufruct^b. In addition to the enmity of these two powerful nobles, Florence had excited that of the Lord of Heusden, by a disreputable connection he maintained with his daughter; and was said to have beheaded the brother of Gerard van Velsen, and detained himself in prison for more than a year, in consequence of a false accusation made against them by some of the courtiers; and to have injured the latter still more deeply in the person of his wife^c. Nevertheless, these nobles were afterwards received into favour by the count, and lived for some time on terms of apparent amity with him; Gerard van Velsen was made his privy councillor, and the Lords of Amstel and Woerden enjoyed high consideration and influence at his court; the name of the former also, and that of the Lord of Heusden, we find among the twelve who were made knights of St. James, a new order of knighthood created by Florence in 1290^d. Gratitude for recent favours, however, failed to obliterate the memory of ancient wrongs. Gerard

^b Beka in Johan., ii., p. 98. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 205—210.

^c Johan. à Leid., lib. xxiv., cap. 26.

^d Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 256—268. Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., cap. 441.

van Velsen first imparted to Hermann van Woerden a design of seizing the count's person, and placing him in confinement; and under pretext of reconciling a feud, appointed a meeting with the Lords of Heusden, Cuyck, and several other nobles, to be held at Bergen op Zoom. The Lord of Cuyck had engaged himself for the sum of two thousand livres (tournois) yearly, to perform any service the King of England might require of him^e.

The nobles, on meeting at Bergen, readily entered into the conspiracy planned by Velsen, the Lord of Cuyck promising them the support and assistance of the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Flanders, and the King of England; and a subsequent conference was in fact held at Cambray, where the whole scheme was discussed and resolved on, before ambassadors from each of these princes. Florence, in entire ignorance of the machinations plotting against him, was not aroused to caution even by a letter from the Lord of Cuyck, renouncing his allegiance in insolent terms: he observed jocosely, that but few Hollanders could now remain in their country, since the Lord of Cuyck had undertaken to drive even him out. He allowed the priest who had been the bearer of this bold defiance to depart unmolested^f.

Since the strong attachment of the citizens and people towards their count rendered the execution of any treasonable enterprise difficult and even dangerous in Holland, the conspirators waited until Florence should go to Utrecht, where he had appointed to be on a certain day in June, to make a reconciliation between the Lords of Amstel and Woerden, and the relatives

^e Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 677. .

^f Johan. à Leid., lib. xxiv., cap. 27. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 264—276.

of the Lord of Zuylen, whom they had slain. After the reconciliation, Florence, unsuspecting of evil, gave a magnificent entertainment, at which all the conspirators were present. It is said, that, just as the feast began, the count was admonished of his approaching fate by a poor woman, who presented to him a paper, containing these words: "Son of a king, be mindful of the prophecy of the Psalmist: mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." Heedless of the warning, the count, seated between Amstel and Woerden, indulged in mirth and festivity to a late hour of the night. After he had retired to rest, the conspirators made use of the time to arrange their plans without the walls of the city, where they stationed parties of their followers in ambush, one on the banks of the Vecht, and two more further inland, but carefully concealing their purpose from them. Amstel remained in Utrecht, and, early the next morning, awakening the count from his slumber, he invited him to accompany himself and the other nobles on a hawking excursion. Florence, springing up with alacrity, was soon equipped, and, before his departure, asked Amstel to drink a stirrup-cup to St. Gertrude*. The traitor took the cup from his master's hand, saying, "God protect you; I will ride forward," and draining its contents, galloped off. Fearful of losing any part of the sport, the count quickly followed, leaving behind all his attendants,

* Beka in Johan., ii., p. 98. Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 281.

* The stirrup or leave-taking cup was, in the Netherlands and Germany, usually drunk to St. Gertrude, the patron saint of travellers.—Huydecop. op Stoke, deel. li., bl. 344, 345. St. Gertrude was the sister of Grimoald, mayor of the palace to Sigebert, king of Austrasia; she founded the church at Geertruydenberg, about the middle of the seventh century.—Miræi Dip. Belg., lib. i., cap. 24. I cannot discover why she was considered as the protector of travellers.

except a couple of pages. About two miles distant from Utrecht, he perceived Hermann van Woerden, and riding towards him, inquired where the hawking was held. He was immediately surrounded by Amstel, Woerden, Velsen, and several others, all of whom, not suspecting their design, he greeted in a friendly manner. Woerden then seized the bridle of his horse, saying to him, "My master, your high flights are ended—you shall drive us no longer—you are now our prisoner, whether you will or no." The count believing him only in jest, laughed merrily, when one Arnold van Benshorp snatched the falcon in a rude manner from his wrist; then, at length awakened to a sense of the danger of his situation, he attempted to draw his sword, but was prevented by Velsen, who threatened "to cleave his head in two," if he made the least movement. One of the pages, attempting to defend his master, received a severe wound, but was able to escape with the other to Utrecht, while the conspirators conveyed their prisoner to Muyden, at the mouth of the Vecht, with the design probably of transporting him thence by sea to England^b. No sooner had the rumour of the count's imprisonment been noised abroad, than the West Friezlanders rose in a body, and uniting themselves to the people of Kemmerland and Waterland, speedily manned a number of vessels, and presented themselves before Muyden. But as they were without a leader, and had neither ammunition nor materials for a siege, they were unable to effect the release of their sovereign, and could only prevent his being carried to England. Finding this scheme, therefore, impracticable, the conspirators determined upon conveying him by land to Brabant or Flanders; gagged and disguised, with his feet and hands bound,

^b Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 283—292.

and mounted on a sorry horse, they conducted their unhappy prisoner, on the fifth day of his confinement, towards Naarden; but knowing that the high roads were beset by the people eager to achieve his deliverance, they chose a circuitous route, through bye-paths and morasses. Hardly had they advanced half way to Naarden, when Velsen, who rode forward to reconnoitre, encountered a large body of the inhabitants of that city. To his demand of what they wanted? "That which you bring, our count," was the reply. Hereupon, Velsen rode back with all the speed he could make, to give the rest of his party warning of their approach. The nobles, unable to resist so numerous a force, attempted to avoid them by flight; but in leaping a ditch, the count's feeble horse fell with his rider into the mire, and finding it impossible to extricate him before the arrival of his deliverers, who were close behind, they murdered their helpless victim 1296 with more than twenty wounds. When the Naardeners and Friezlanders came up, they found their prince already at the point of death, but instant vengeance was executed on two servants, who had not time to draw out their weapons from his body. Velsen escaped, wounded and with difficulty, to Kronenburg, where he found the other conspirators already arrived. The body of Count Florence was embalmed, and, at the desire of the Friezlanders, carried to Alkmaar, and laid in the church there, but was finally buried at Rhynsburg¹.

The personal character of Florence, as well as the state of affairs in the county, rendered his death a cause of deep lamentation to the Hollanders; brave in the field, and sagacious in the cabinet, he possessed all those qualities which secure the esteem or captivate

¹ Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1296. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 349—355, 419.

the affection of mankind. Just, liberal, and magnanimous, he was a firm and constant protector of his people against the oppression of the nobles. Like most of his race, his countenance was ruddy and handsome, and his person well-formed and active; he was remarkable, also, for his ready eloquence, and for his rare skill in music^k.

Of the conspirators, Woerden and Amstel fled their country, and died in exile; but the greater part fortified themselves in the castle of Kronenburg, which being besieged and taken, Velsen and some others were made prisoners, while the remainder were rescued by the interference of the Lord of Cuyck and the Count of Cleves. Gerard van Velsen was tried at Dordrecht, severely tortured, and, together with William of Zoenden, one of his accomplices, broken on the wheel^l.

The aristocratic power in Holland never afterwards recovered the shock it underwent on this occasion; besides those of the nobles who were openly convicted of a share in the assassination of Count Florence, many others were suspected of a secret participation in this crime, and the contempt and detestation they incurred, extended in some degree to the whole body of the nobility, whose moral influence was thus nearly annihilated, while its actual strength was enfeebled by the death or banishment of so many of its most powerful members. This occurred, too, at a juncture when the towns, favoured by the privileges which Florence and his immediate predecessors had bestowed on them, and increasing in wealth and importance, were enabled to secure that political influence in the

^k Beka in Johan., ii., p. 99.

^l Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1296. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 372—382. Beka in Johan., ii., p. 99.

state which the nobles daily lost, and which, in other countries, was obtained by the sovereign, on the decay of the feudal aristocracy*.

JOHN I.—The condition in which the death of Florence V. left Holland, was deplorable in the extreme. Engaged in hostilities with Flanders, her nobility discontented and rebellious, her people alarmed and suspicious, and her young prince a minor, in the hands of a monarch who had given but too many proofs of his unscrupulous ambition†, while to these difficulties was added that of a divided regency. While Florence was yet alive, John van Arkel, Theodore van Brederode, with the other nobles who still remained faithful to him, had, upon intelligence of his imprisonment, assembled at Dordrecht, and sent to John of Avennes a requisition that he would come into Holland without delay, and assume the government until the count could be released; and three days after his death, they despatched the Abbot of Egmond to the court of the King of England, beseeching him to restore to them their young count, and to send with him a force sufficient to protect him from the fate that had befallen his father^m. Guy, brother 1296 of John of Avennes, came into Holland, commissioned by John to undertake the administration in his behalf, until he should repair thither in person, which he promised to do shortly. Although John of Avennes was next of kin to the young count, being the son of Adelaide of Avennes, sister of his grandfather, yet

^m Rym. Feed., tom. ii., p. 717. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 364, 365.

* By the Tudors, in our own country; by Charles VII., Louis XI., and their successors, in France; and by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, after the monarchical power was strengthened by the union of the crowns of Castile and Arragon.

† Vide Note D, at the end of the volume.

Louis of Cleves, count of Hulkerode, related in a more distant degree, assumed to himself the administration of affairs, his supporters being principally found among the friends of those who had conspired against Count Florence; and Guy of Avennes, not having sufficient influence to prevent his exercising the authority of governor, agreed to divide the government with him, until the arrival of his brother John; North Holland being allotted to Louis, who resided at the Hague, while Guy reserved to himself South Holland, and remained at Geertruydenberg. Upon the arrival of John of Avennes in Holland, he found the great majority of the people favourably disposed towards him, and within a short time his party became so powerful, that Louis of Cleves was forced to retire into his own territoryⁿ.

The enemies of Holland were not backward in taking advantage of the embarrassments she was now labouring under. At the time when the late count had lent his assistance to John II., bishop of Utrecht, against the Lords of Amstel and Woerden, that prelate had consented that these two lordships should be transferred to the sovereignty of Holland. This arrangement was by no means acceptable to his successor, William II., who sought, therefore, every means of disturbing Holland in these possessions. The West Friezlanders had become so deeply attached to the person of Count Florence, that during his life there was no hope of shaking their allegiance; but after his death, it was found less difficult to revive in their breasts their ancient love of freedom, particularly as they had conceived the idea, from the long residence of Count John in England, that he was not the real son of Florence^o.

ⁿ Beka in Johan., p. 99. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 366, 383—387.

^o Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1297.

Accordingly at the instigation of the bishop, and 1297 relying on his promises of assistance, they once more took up arms, mastered and destroyed all the castles Count Florence had built, except Medemblick, which they blockaded^p. The governor, John of Avennes, was at this time fully occupied with the affairs of Zealand. Wolferd van Borselen, who had before been aided by Guy, count of Flanders, in his treasonable undertakings, and had, since the revolt of 1287, lived in retirement or exile, now applied to the same quarter for assistance in the ambitious projects he was forming. Having surreptitiously obtained from the inhabitants of Dordrecht two ships of war, under pretence of a threatened invasion by the Flemings, he went forthwith to Guy of Flanders, and found but little trouble in persuading him to invade Walcheren, and lay siege to Middleburg. The town had been blockaded some months, when John of Avennes advanced to its relief, and on his arrival at Zierikzee, the Flemings hastily raised the siege, and retired to Flanders, sustaining severe loss in their retreat, from a sally made by the besieged^q. Avennes having been received with great joy in Middleburg, did not long remain there, as the events which were occurring in West Friezland urgently demanded his presence. Medemblick, surrounded by the insurgents, and cut off from all supplies, was on the eve of a surrender, when John came up to its relief; he forced them to raise the siege, but the weather becoming suddenly cold, his troops conceived so great a dread of being blocked up by the ice, that desertion became general; some retreated to the ships in the harbour of Medemblick, and the remainder returned home by different land routes, not without

^p Beka in Wilhelm., ii., p. 101. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 390, 391.

^q Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 393—395.

considerable loss of life. John, thus left nearly alone, had no resource but to retire to Holland^r.

Meanwhile, the king of England, anxious to secure an influence in the court of his intended son-in-law, sent ambassadors to Holland, requiring the attendance of three nobles out of each of the provinces, and two deputies from each of the "good towns*," at the marriage of the Count John with the Princess Elizabeth, and at the confirmation of the treaty^s. Accordingly, the English ambassadors were accompanied on their return by the deputies of the nobles, with Theodore van Brederode at their head, and those of the good towns, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Middleburg, and others. They were detained some time at the court of England; but at length the marriage was celebrated with great splendour, and the ambassadors, laden with rich presents, returned with the young bride and bridegroom in a well-equipped fleet to Holland^t. The conditions imposed by Edward in the treaty made on this occasion, rendered the young count little more than a nominal sovereign in his own states; he was obliged to appoint two Englishmen, Ferrers and Havering, members of his privy council, and to engage that he would do nothing contrary to their advice, or without the consent of his father-in-law. The disputes between Flanders and Brabant on the one side, and Holland on the other, were to be referred to the mediation of Edward^u. On the return of John of Avennes from

^r Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 405—408.

^s Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 729. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 400, 401.

^t Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann. 1297. ^u Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 743—745.

* This is the first time we observe the towns participating in political affairs: it coincides nearly with the summoning of borough members to parliament in England (1295), and the assembly of the states in France (1302).

the war in Friezland, he found that the Count John had landed in Zealand, and knowing he had nothing but hostility to expect from Wolferd van Borselen, who had obtained possession of the young prince's person, and was devoted to the interests of England and Flanders, he deemed it advisable to retire without delay into Hainault. His departure left Borselen without a rival, and he immediately assumed the title of governor of Holland, and guardian of the minor^v.

The Friezlanders still refusing to acknowledge John as the son of Count Florence, the first step of Borselen was to march with the young count into that province, at the head of an army, of which some Englishmen who were present are said to have remarked, that, "if such an army were landed at one end of England, it might march, in spite of all opposition, to the other." With so powerful a force, it was a matter of no great difficulty to subdue the West Friezlanders; and it was done so effectually, that this was the last time the Counts of Holland were obliged to carry war into their country^w. The Bishop of Utrecht, also, not satisfied with the share he had borne in their revolt, afterwards preached a crusade against Holland, and made an assault on Monnikendam; but, being forced by the Kemmerlanders to take refuge in Overijssel, he consented to purchase a peace by the cession of Amstel and Woerden^x.

These successes so increased the influence of Wolferd van Borselen, that his authority in the state became almost absolute; he obtained from the young prince a written promise to protect him against any evil that threatened him from the murderers of Count Florence,

^v Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 411. Wilhelm. Proc., ad ann. 1297.

^w Idem, ad ann. 1297. Melis Stoke. boek v., bl. 415—420.

^x Beka in Wilhelm., p. 102.

although (since most of them were his friends) he had nothing to fear from them : John bound himself, also, to be guided entirely by his advice until he should attain the age of twenty-five ; he excluded from the privy council, on one pretext or another, all those members who were not in his interests, obtained for himself the investiture of the fortress of Ysselstein, and the lordship of Woerden, and attempted to levy heavy and arbitrary taxes on the whole nation. Being, from his attachment to the English, opposed to Philip of France, he obliged John to conclude a treaty with Flanders, promising subsidies to Count Guy during his war with France*. John, in effect, marched with an army to Ghent ; but the truce for two years, concluded shortly after between France and England, in which the counts both of Holland and Flanders were included as allies of Edward, rendered their services unnecessary[†].

1298 The ambition and rapacity of Borselen had already excited vehement indignation and disgust against him, when he thought fit to venture upon the hazardous measure of debasing the coin[‡], a stretch of power which the Dutch, a nation depending for their existence upon trade and commerce, have never been able to endure, even from their most arbitrary sovereigns ; and we shall have many opportunities hereafter of remarking their extreme jealousy in this particular.

[†] Wilhelm. Proc. ad ann., 1297. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 428—437 ; boek vi., bl. 474. Rym. Fœd., tom ii., p. 795.

[‡] Beka in Wil., ii. p. 102.

* Robert, and Guy of Flanders, swore solemnly that the conspirators against Count Florence had received neither assistance nor encouragement from them ; but the young count, though forced by Borselen to admit them to a conference, and receive their oath, kept his eyes fixed on the ground the whole time they were present, and could not be induced to look upon them. Melis Stoke, boek v., bl. 436.

The murmurs of the citizens then became loud and general; and the popular hatred appeared already to threaten the ruin of the court favourite, when a quarrel, in which he involved himself with the town of Dordrecht, concerning its immunities, brought matters to a crisis. It may not be thought tedious, perhaps, to detail at some length the particulars of this transaction, since it was by their unceasing watchfulness against any encroachments upon their municipal rights, and their pertinacity in defending them, that the Hollanders were enabled to preserve them unimpaired, while those of other nations, obtained at even greater cost and pains, were annihilated in the grasp of an absolute monarchy, or swallowed up by the privileges of an overwhelming aristocracy. By a charter granted in 1252 to the town of Dordrecht, by William II., the right of pronouncing judgment without appeal, in all cases whatever, both criminal and civil*, is vested in the sheriffs; and this appears to be only confirmatory of a more ancient prescriptive right exercised by these magistrates, of trying all causes arising within the limits of the city. Aloud, Bailiff of South Holland†, appointed to that office by Borselen, claimed the right of hearing the preliminary examinations‡ of some malefactors then in custody at Dordrecht, for a crime (of what nature does not appear) committed within the precincts of the city. The magistrates, deeming this right to belong solely to themselves, proceeded to take the examinations, without noticing the claim of the bailiff; and

* This privilege is not common; in general an appeal lies from the municipal courts to the court of Holland, in all civil cases.

† The bailiff was an officer of justice appointed by the count in the open country, whose duties were similar to those of the schout in towns.

‡ "Eene stille waarheid (præcedente informatie) bezitten,"—something in the nature, I apprehend, of the magistrates' commitment in our own country.

while they were thus employed, Borselen himself, accompanied by the count, repaired to Dordrecht. He demanded that the whole of the documents relating to the matter in question should be immediately delivered up to him, alleging that it belonged to the jurisdiction of the court of Holland. The magistrates refused to surrender them, on the plea that, according to the charter of William II., they alone had the power of hearing and deciding all causes whatsoever, occurring within the limits of the town*. Borselen, enraged at this answer, threatened them with imprisonment if they did not obey, and withdrew immediately to Delft, and thence to the Hague, commanding five of their number to follow him. As the Dordrechtters considered it hardly safe for their magistrates to brave the storm alone, they sent with them deputies from the great council of the town, making in all about ten or twelve persons. Of these, two, mentioned according to the simplicity of the times merely by their christian names, John and Paul, were particularly noted as strenuous defenders of their privileges; and being for this reason obnoxious in a high degree to Borselen, they remained at Delft, while three others, John the Miller, Peter Tielmanson, and Jacob, went to the Hague for the purpose of holding a conference with the count. They were detained there some time, on account of the absence of Borselen, without whose advice John durst not venture to interfere in the affair. Immediately on his arrival, he inquired where John and Paul were, which excited suspicions in the minds of the rest, that he meditated some evil design against them. Warned by their companions, therefore, the two councillors hastily returned home, and

* Melis Stoke, boek vi., bl. 478—482. Boxhorn, Theat. Urb. Holl., p. 100.

when Borselen came with the count shortly after, from the Hague to Delft, he found them already gone. Their departure, for permitting which Borselen bitterly reproached the magistrates of Delft, caused vehement discussions on the subject of the controversy in the senate of that town, and the Bailiff Aloud offered to fight in single combat any one who would maintain that the cause of the sheriffs of Dordrecht was just. But the burghers of Delft would permit no one to accept the challenge, being of opinion, that the immunities of the towns ought not in any case to be subject to the chances of a battle. John and Paul were accused of contumacy by Borselen's party, in not awaiting the arrival of the count, who menaced Dordrecht with the consequences of his high displeasure. On the return of the deputies thither, bearing intelligence of the threats used by the count, the burghers thought it advisable to put themselves in a posture of defence. Four "hoofdmannen," or captains of burgher guards, were appointed, and letters despatched by the senate to all the "good towns" of Holland and Zealand, intreating them to consider the cause of Dordrecht as their common cause^b.

Their preparations were not made in vain, as no long time elapsed before the town was invested. Borselen, in order to cut off from the inhabitants all communication from without, both by land and water, stationed troops in the surrounding forts, and a number of vessels, called "Outlyers," in the Merwe. The bailiff Aloud also, who commanded the fort of Kraa-jestein, above Dordrecht, caused pilework to be laid across the river to obstruct its passage. During the work, a single cog boat, having approached close to the town, excited such a commotion within the walls, that

^b Melis Stoke, boek vi., bl. 482—499.

the burghers with one accord sallied out, and hurried, some by land, some in boats, to Kraajestein. Here they came to a sharp engagement with Aloud's troops, killed and wounded a considerable number, and returned with the loss of only one life to Dordrecht^c. Aloud having given information to Borselen of this occurrence, the latter determined to raise a general levy both in Holland and Zealand against the Dordrechtters: but, being unable to carry his purpose into effect, from the discontents which had spread over the whole county, he deemed himself no longer safe at the Hague, and, leaving the court by night, carried the young count with all expedition to Schiedam, whence he took ship to Zealand. On the discovery of the abduction of Count John, the court and village of the Hague were
 1299 in uproar; numbers hurried to Vlaardingen, where, finding that the ship in which Borselen had sailed lay becalmed in the mouth of the Merwe, they manned all the boats in the port with stout rowers, and quickly reached the count's vessel, whom they found very willing to return with them^d. Borselen was conducted a prisoner to Delft. Hardly had the populace there heard of his arrest when they assembled before the doors of the gaol, demanding with loud cries that "the traitor should be delivered up to them." Those within, struck with terror, thrust him, stripped of his armour, out at the door, when he was massacred in an instant, every individual of the immense multitude eagerly seeking to gratify his hatred by inflicting a wound upon him^e. A similar destiny soon after befel the Bailiff Aloud. Being forced to surrender his fort of Kraajestein, he was made prisoner, and brought to Dordrecht; but he had scarcely entered the city, when

^c Melis Stoke, boek vi., bl. 499—508.

^d Idem, boek vi., bl. 508—516.

^e Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1299.

himself and five of his followers were sacrificed to the fury of the exasperated populace^f.

As John was still too young to conduct the business of government alone, he invited to his assistance his cousin, John of Avennes, and appointed him guardian over himself and the county for the space of four years^g. The death of Borselen, and the accession of John of Avennes to the government, entirely deprived the English party of their influence in Holland, since Avennes had been constantly attached, both from inclination and policy, to the interest of the French court. His first act was to make a reconciliation^{*} between the people of Delft and the relatives of Borselen, and this being effected, he entered into a covenant with seven of the principal towns of Holland, neither to make nor consent to any peace with the murderers of Count Florence, or their posterity, to the seventh generation^h. Soon after, determined on entering into a close alliance with France, he set out on a journey to that court, leaving Count John at Haarlem, sick of the ague and flux, which terminated his existence on the 10th of November of this yearⁱ. Suspicions of poison were soon afloat, and Avennes has been accused of this crime; but as the charge is flatly denied by Melis Stoke^k, and the nature of John's disease is expressly stated by another contemporary and credible historian^l, its being adopted by Meyer, a Flemish author writing two centuries later, is hardly sufficient to affix so deep a stain on the character of John of Avennes, and which is contradicted by the whole tenour of his life. As John died without children, the county was trans-

^f Melis Stoke, boek vi., bl. 530.

^h Idem, bl. 544.

^k Idem, boek vi., bl. 547, 548.

^g Idem, boek vi., bl. 539.

ⁱ Idem, bl. 546.

^l Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1299.

* "Zoen," vid. chap. ii., p. 95.

ferred, by the succession of John of Avennes, the nearest heir, to the family of Hainault.

Thus ended this noble and heroic race of princes, having now governed the county for a period of four hundred years; of whom it may be remarked, that not one has been handed down to us by historians as weak, vicious, or debauched. A race of brave warriors and gallant knights; of wise lawgivers and skilful politicians: under whose government we have seen their little territory raised from a half-drained marsh to a respectable rank among the states of Europe, and its alliance courted by the most powerful monarchs: under whose government were laid the foundations of that greatness and prosperity to which Holland afterwards attained: under whose government, above all, the people were blessed with laws and institutions so admirably adapted to their wants, habits, and national peculiarities, that they preserved them almost unchanged through a long course of after ages. The Hollanders are perhaps justified, more than any other people, in indulging the proneness of human nature to look back to some golden age long past of happiness and prosperity; since while nations more favoured by extent of territory and natural advantages were wasting their strength in useless wars, or torn to pieces by intestine commotions, they were making daily advances in freedom, commerce, wealth, and learning. Deservedly, therefore, was the memory of their "ancient counts" cherished long and tenderly by the people; and it was to its descent from them that the illustrious house of Brederode owed a popularity, which three centuries later was still so great, as to cause suspicion and alarm to the reigning sovereign.

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of John of Avennes. Resistance of the Zealand Nobles to his authority. Aided by the Emperor. Peace between the Emperor and Holland. War with Utrecht. Death of the Bishop. Guy of Hainault appointed in his stead. War with Flanders. Conquest of Zealand—of North Holland. Invasion by the Duke of Brabant: repelled. Holland freed from the Invaders. Succours from France. Battle of Zierikzee. Guy of Flanders taken prisoner. Recovery of Zealand. Death and Character of John II. William III. Marriage. Truce with Flanders. War renewed. Final and lasting peace. Marriage of the Count's Daughters. Affairs of England—of Germany. Subjugation of Friezland. William's domestic government. Dispute with the Kemmerlanders. Staple of Dordrecht. Alliances of the King of England in the Netherlands. Death of the Count. His Children. Character of William. William IV. Renewal of the alliance with England. War between England and France. Battle of Sluys. Siege of Tournay. Truce. War with Utrecht. Truce. William sails to Friezland. Is slain there. Margaret. Claim of the King of England to a share in the county. Margaret acknowledged. Surrenders the government to her son William. Resumes it. War between Margaret and William. Accomodation. Death of Margaret.

UPON the death of his cousin, John of Avennes returned immediately to Holland, where he was acknowledged by the nobles, commons, and towns*, as count, in right of his mother, Adelaide, sister of William II.^m In Zealand, however, he found the party of Wolferd van Borselen among the nobles, sufficiently powerful to offer a formidable resistance to his authority. John van Renesse, who had been 1300 banished by Wolferd, in consequence of an unsuccessful

^m Wilhelm. Proc., ad ann. 1299. Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 1, deel. 3.

* This is the first time that express mention is made of the acknowledgment of the count by the commons or towns. Melis Stoke says, however, that it was done according to the custom.—“Na den zede.”

attempt to gain possession of the young count's person, returned to Holland, after his death, and offered to clear himself of any participation in the treason against Count Florence, which he had concealed, although he did not take any active part in it. But as he could not find sureties for his future good conduct, the negotiation was broken off, and Renesse retired into Zealand, where he not only made a reconciliation with the friends and partizans of Borselen, his former rival, but even succeeded him as their leaderⁿ.

Flanders, the general resource of the disaffected subjects of Holland, was now shut out from them, the count being a prisoner in the hands of Philip IV. of France, and the country overrun by the troops of Charles of Valois^o. Renesse, therefore, turned his eyes towards Albert, emperor of Germany, to whom he represented that Holland and Zealand had now reverted to the empire as an escheated fief, of which it would be easy to take possession, since most of the nobles and towns were strongly averse to the government of a native of Hainault^a. The emperor, flattering himself that Holland could not long resist his power, sent letters to each of the towns separately, demanding their homage, and shortly after marched at the head of an army, and accompanied by the archbishops of Metz, Treves, and Cologne, as far as Nimeguen. But the towns, instead of complying with the mandates of the emperor, transmitted his letters to Count John, and the people of all ranks assembled round his standard in such numbers, that he was able to advance to Nimeguen with a force far superior to that of the emperor, who,

ⁿ Melis Stoke, boek iv., bl. 272; boek v., bl. 421; boek vii., bl. 2, 3, deel. 3.

^o Velly, Hist. de France, tom. vii., p. 142, 144.

^a Beka in Wilhelm., ii., p. 102. Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 19.

on his approach, hastily retreated to Kranenburg; and, suspecting that he had been purposely deceived by Renesse, consented without hesitation to a treaty proposed by the Archbishop of Cologne, in which he promised to retire immediately, and leave John in quiet possession of the county, on his doing homage for it as a fief of the empire^a. On the arrival of a fleet from Zealand in the Lek, to the assistance of the emperor, they found the treaty already concluded, and were advised by Albert to return without delay to their own country. During their absence, John of Oostervant, son of the Count of Holland, entered Zealand, ravaged the open country, threw down the forts, and made himself master of Schouwen, Walcheren, and South Beveland; and as the Zealanders sailed homewards down the Waal, they received intelligence that Count John had posted ships in the mouths of the Lek and Merwe, to intercept their passage. They, therefore, landed, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Schoonhoven, retired to Flanders, whence they made irruptions from time to time on the coasts of Zealand, where they were distinguished by the name of the exiles^r. In the summer of the next year, John went into Hainault, leaving the government of Holland and Zealand in the hands of his brother Guy and his third son, William, now about fifteen. He had conferred upon the former, likewise, the lordships of Amstel and 1301 Woerden; and this afforded the Bishop of Utrecht a pretext for attempting the recovery of these estates, the loss of which he suffered with no small impatience. He accordingly marched towards Woerden in person, and laid waste the surrounding country with fire and sword. Guy and William were at this time in Wal-

^a Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 21—25. Beka in Wilhelm., p. 102, 103.

^r Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 26—34.

cheren, but the burghers and people* of the neighbourhood assembled together and prepared for the defence of Amstel and Woerden, as well as the shortness of the time permitted. Notwithstanding their efforts, however, the bishop's troops still outnumbered them, in the proportion of six to one, which did not prevent the Hollanders from invading the bishopric, in order to transfer thither the seat of war, and they had advanced as far as the plain of Hoogtjoude, near Utrecht, when they found themselves entirely surrounded by their enemies. Deprived of all means of retreat, the Hollanders had no choice left but to conquer: the fortune of the battle was decided by the death of the bishop, who, fighting in the foremost ranks, was struck down by a blow from one of the heavy clubs used in the warfare of that period, the soldiers having a superstitious horror of shedding his blood. This event caused a general flight among his troops, and the Hollanders were admitted without opposition into the city of Utrecht^s. Guy of Hainault arrived too late to take any part in the contest, but in time to procure for himself the election to the see, which he filled during sixteen years, and by this means Holland was secured from further molestation from that quarter^t.

She was not, however, left without enemies to combat. The Zealand exiles not being permitted

* Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 53—60. Beka in Wilhelm., p. 103.

^s Idem, p. 105, 109. Melis Stoke, boek vii., bl. 63.

* The author of the "Vaterlandsche Historie," (boek x., p. 151,) says, that this defence was made by the nobles and towns; but Melis Stoke, from whom he quotes, attributes the principal share in it to the burghers and country people, "poorters and lant volc," and admires the fidelity and courage displayed by a poor commonalty, "arme gemeente." —boek vii., bl. 56, 60.

by Count William to return to their country, prevailed with Guy, son of the old Count of Flanders who was still a prisoner in France, to grant them large reinforcements of men and ships for the purpose of invading Walcheren. This he was now enabled to do, ¹³⁰² since an obstinate and decisive battle fought with the French at Courtrai, had placed him in possession of Flanders, which they were forced entirely to evacuate^u. The narrow channel between Walcheren and Beveland was filled with Flemish vessels; and Count William, then in the former island, took post at Arnemuyden, sending forward part of his army to Veere, to oppose the landing of the Flemings. The latter attacked the ¹³⁰³ Holland troops at Veere, when a considerable number of the Zealanders going over to the side of the Flemings, in the beginning of the engagement, spread such consternation among the remainder, that they fled with precipitation to Arnemuyden. Hither they were pursued by the enemy, when William, with great firmness and courage, made a short stand against them, but his army, being far inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and forced to retreat to Middleburg, which city, totally unprovided with supplies or ammunition, surrendered with little resistance. Count William escaped to Zierikzee, leaving Guy entire master of Walcheren^v. Determined to follow up his advantage, Guy endeavoured to carry Zierikzee by assault, but a brave sally on the part of the burghers rendered this attempt abortive; and leaving sufficient troops to carry on the blockade, he turned his steps towards Holland, where the count, on his return from Hainault, had, with the assistance of his brother Guy, bishop of

^u Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. x., ad ann. 1032, p. 94.

^v Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 92—104. Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. x., ad ann. 1303, p. 99.

Utrecht, assembled a large army at Schiedam*. But no sooner did the Flemish ships make their appearance in one of the mouths of the Maas, then called the Widel†, than the Count of Holland opened negotiations for a treaty, whereby he engaged to surrender to Flanders the whole of Zeeland, except Zierikzee, which was to have no additional fortifications. No reason whatever can be assigned for his making so disgraceful a compact, since the troops had shown the greatest alacrity in rallying round his standard, and were so eager to engage with the Flemings, that John was obliged to disband them before he could proceed with the negotiations^w.

Guy of Flanders did not long abide by this treaty, however advantageous to him. One of its provisions was to the effect that either party should give four months' notice of his intention to put an end to it, and Count John falling sick late in the autumn, Guy thought he could not choose a more favourable opportunity for renewing the war against him, and accordingly declared the truce terminated in the November following.

The count, unable from the feeble state of his
1304 health to undergo the slightest exertion, surrendered the whole government of the county into the hands of his son William (now his heir, both the elder brothers

^w Wilhelm. Proc., ad ann. 1303. Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 106—119.

* The old chroniclers of Holland always speak of the national armies in this vague manner, never stating the numbers of which they consisted; it arises, perhaps, from the difficulty of ascertaining them exactly, for want of a regular division of the troops; the nobles appearing in the field, each at the head of his own vassals, and the citizens of the several towns serving separately under the standard of the town to which they belonged.

† Supposed to be the channel between Voorn and Putten.—Huydecoper op Stoke, deel. iii., bl. 306.

being dead, of whom John, count of Oostervant, was killed at the battle of Courtrai) and retired into Hainault for the last time^x.

The greatest zeal in the service of their country, under the young Prince William, then just eighteen, was found to pervade all ranks of men: the nobility took the field at their own cost, and the towns voluntarily supplied double their quotas of troops, while Guy, bishop of Utrecht, brought to his aid a brave and numerous body of auxiliaries. With this army William embarked on board a considerable fleet of ships, with the design of intercepting the Flemings on their way to Zealand. But finding that they had already landed in Duyveland, with Count Guy and John of Renesse at their head, the Holland troops hastily left the vessels, without the permission of Count William, and had hardly reached the shore when they were attacked, while yet in disorder, by the Flemings: a severe battle ensued, in which the Hollanders sustained a total defeat: several of the nobility were killed, the Bishop Guy was taken prisoner, and William only avoided the same fate by seeking refuge within the walls of Zierikzee^y. After this victory, Guy of Flanders sailed to North Holland, where the inhabitants, struck with dismay at the overthrow of an army on which they had relied, and whose equipment had left them nearly defenceless; and urged, moreover, by the intrigues and solicitations of John van Renesse, who laboured incessantly to forward Guy's interests, submitted with little resistance, and all the towns in that quarter, except Haarlem received Flemish garrisons^z.

While affairs were in this troubled condition in North

^x Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 121—125.

^y Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 126—138. Beka in Guid., p. 106.

^z Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 146, 147. Beka in Guid., p. 106.

Holland, John II., duke of Brabant, with whom Guy of Flanders had formed an alliance the year before, invaded South Holland, made himself master of Zevenberg, and Geertruydenberg, and sat down before Dordrecht. This ancient city was saved by the valour of one of its citizens, Nicholas van Putten, then in command of the garrison and burghers. After several sallies by the besieged, the Brabanters found themselves obliged to retreat to Waalwyk, where, being followed and attacked by the Dordrechtters, they were defeated with great slaughter, and the duke, with the remainder of his troops, lost no time in making the best of his way back to Brabant*.

Guy of Flanders, meanwhile, had marched without check to Utrecht, of which he took possession. Nearly the whole of Holland was now overrun by Flemish troops; Zealand, except Zierikzee, subdued; Count John remained sick in Hainault, bishop Guy, his brother, was a prisoner, and William shut up in Zierikzee. It seemed, indeed, as if the county had wholly fallen a prey to her ancient and inveterate foe, when it was at once set free by one of those sudden bursts of enthusiastic energy which are characteristic of this remarkable people.

Witte van Hamstede, a natural son of Florence V., having sailed out of Zierikzee in a single vessel, was driven by stress of weather into Zandfort, and thence proceeded with a few followers to Haarlem, the only town of North Holland which had not submitted to the Flemings. From hence he sent letters to the other towns, upbraiding them with cowardice, and earnestly exhorting them to resist to the last their insolent enemies; he himself being come, he said, to

* Petrus Divæus Ann. Brab., lib. x., ad ann. 1303, 1304. Boxborn in Dordrecht, p. 108. Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 161, 162.

deliver Holland from Flemish tyranny. His call did not remain unanswered: within two days the burghers of Delft, Leyden, and Schiedam, rose with one accord, slew or drove out the Flemish garrisons, and Nicholas van Putten, of Dordrecht, taking advantage of the occasion to attack the Flemings in South Holland, the county in the space of a single week was nearly cleared of her invaders. Guy of Flanders was at Utrecht at the time of this revolution, and immediately on hearing the intelligence, set sail in a number of cogs that were lying in the Yssel, and proceeded through Hollands Diep to the island of Schouwen, with the design of surprising William in Zierikzee; but, finding the garrison prepared to receive him, he retired by way of the Scheldt into Flanders^b. After the departure of the Flemings from Holland, William returned from Zierikzee to Dordrecht, where he was welcomed with the most extravagant joy: the citizens congratulated each other that he was come to avenge their disgrace; every house was illuminated; and the country people, on hearing of his arrival, flocked in crowds to see him: the Lord Witte van Hamstede also brought a considerable force of Friezlanders and Kemmerlanders to place at his disposal^c.

The recovery of Holland was ere long followed by that of Zealand. Count William, hearing that Guy was preparing a fleet in Flanders for the reduction of Zierikzee, sent to petition for succours from Philip IV. of France. Since the separation of Hainault from Flanders, the interests of the former state and those of France had been closely connected. Philip, therefore, at the request of his ally, sent sixteen Genoese and twenty French vessels to Holland, under the command

^b Melis Stoke, boek viii., bl. 158, 159—174.

^c Idem, boek ix., bl. 180—191.

of Rinaldo di Grimaldi, of Genoa, commonly called "the Admiral," an officer of superior skill and experience^d.

Hearing that a fleet was preparing in France to assist the Hollanders, Guy of Flanders hastened, before it was in readiness to act, to lay siege to Zierikzee; and made several attempts to carry it by assault, but was constantly repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants. During the whole of the siege, the women shared the fatigues and danger equally with the men: they carried the large stones from the streets to supply the engines on the walls, and when any fire occurred, from the combustible missiles* of the besiegers, they undertook to extinguish it alone, that the men might not be called off from the defence^e. Meanwhile the French fleet united with that of Holland in the mouth of the Meuse; and after being long delayed by contrary winds, came within sight of the Flemish ships, eighty in number†, lying in the Gouwe, between Schouwen and Duyveland, on the evening of the 10th of August^f. Here four of the Holland vessels ran aground on the sands not far from Zierikzee; in consequence of which,

^d Velly, *Hist. de France*, tom. vii., p. 324.

^e Melis Stoke, boek ix., bl. 206, 207.

^f Idem, bl. 224—233.

* They were chiefly torches fastened to the end of arrows: but simple as this weapon may appear, it did great execution, as the houses were in general thatched with straw.

† It is not mentioned of how many vessels the French and Holland fleet consisted; but it must have been inferior to that of Flanders, since the historian says that "he thinks it never happened before that so small a number should fight with so great a force." Melis Stoke, boek ix., bl. 251. He says also, that the Flemings were ten to one on the water, and three to one on land; but this assertion seems hardly worthy of credit. The Flemish historian of later times tells us, on the contrary, that the Hollanders excelled their adversaries in large ships, but that their number of small vessels was inferior.

William and the French admiral determined to delay the engagement till the following day. Hardly had they come to this resolution, when they perceived the Flemish ships advancing towards them in battle array: as they drew nigh, the Hollanders, encouraged by a short and spirited address from their leader*, with loud shouts of "Holland, Holland! Paris, Paris!" threw a shower of arrows and stones among the enemy, which the Flemings were not slow in returning. In the early part of the battle the latter mastered three of the Holland vessels, and greatly annoyed the rest by missiles thrown from the "cokets," or small stages fastened to their masts. Suddenly, however, the mast of one of the largest ships, to which a turret of this kind was attached, fell with a tremendous crash, and the Hollanders, taking advantage of the confusion, ran alongside, boarded, and took possession of her, putting the crew to the sword. At this moment the four stranded vessels, launched by the tide, came drifting down upon the combatants. The sailors, while they had been forced to remain inactive spectators of the contest, had prepared torches of dry wood, and tow, and other combustibles: these they now threw flaming into the faces of their adversaries, and created considerable disorder among them. The fight, however, was continued by moonlight with unremitting fury until past midnight, when the victory proved decisive on the side of the Hollanders; most of the Flemish ships being either captured or destroyed†. Partial skir-

* Instead of the long and somewhat untimely orations which historians are apt to put into the mouth of their heroes, Melis Stoke attributes to William merely these few words:—"Let us defend ourselves bravely. I see the battle won: God will crown him who dies in heaven, and he who lives will be lauded through the whole world." Boek ix., bl. 251.

† Meyer, i., p. 104, gives the number captured as one thousand, but it is scarcely credible.

mishes were renewed throughout the night with the few that remained, and early the next morning the vessel which contained Count Guy was observed with all her sails up, endeavouring to escape. Being prevented by the lightness of the wind, Grimaldi came up with her, and forced her to close combat : a long and destructive conflict ended in the capture of Count Guy, whom Grimaldi carried prisoner to France^g. The inhabitants of Zierikzee, unable from the uncertain light to distinguish the combatants, spent the night in the deepest anxiety : they had come to a determination, in case their countrymen were defeated, to make a general sally, women as well as men, and fight their way as they best might through the camp of the besiegers^h. On the news of the victory obtained by the Hollanders, the Flemish troops left the siege in confusion and dismay, concealing themselves for the most part among the sand-hills of Schouwen, where about five thousand were made prisonersⁱ.

The imprisonment of Count Guy terminated the war in Zealand, and William was received in Middleburg with lively expressions of satisfaction from all, except the partizans of Flanders, the greater part of whom subsequently quitted the city. The other towns of Zealand speedily followed the example of Middleburg, and many of the disaffected nobles, upon a promise of pardon, returned to their allegiance, while the more zealous adherents of Count Guy retired into Flanders. John van Renesse, the prime mover of these disturbances, was drowned with several others, within a week of the battle of Zierikzee, while attempting to cross the Lek in a ferry-boat; and thus the county was

^g Velly, *Hist. de France*. tom. vii., p. 325. Meyer, *Ann. Fland.*, ad ann. 1304, p. 103, 104.

^h Melis Stoke, boek ix., bl. 252—272. ⁱ Idem, boek x., bl. 347—370.

entirely freed from its enemies^k. Count John had scarcely received the intelligence of his son's success, when the sickness under which he had so long languished carried him to the grave, on the 22nd of the same month. John of Avennes was pious, affable, ^{Aug} humane, and beneficent; but indolent and irresolute; ¹³⁰⁴ negligent in the administration of justice, and averse to any kind of business; passionately fond of hunting and hawking, and too much addicted to the pleasures of the table; "he laughed in his very heart," says his historian, "when he saw a jolly company assembled round him^l."

WILLIAM III.—Although the government of the county had been placed in the hands of William for some time before the death of his father, he received homage anew after that event from the nobles and towns^m. Early in the next year, he repaired to the court of France, to fulfil a contract of marriage which ¹³⁰⁵ had been made for him in the lifetime of his father, with Joanna, daughter of Charles of Valois, and niece of King Philip IV^{n*}.

Upon his arrival he found a treaty on foot between that country and Flanders, wherein all the allies on both sides were included, except himself in respect of the counties of Holland and Zealand. He therefore attempted to negotiate a separate peace with Robert III., successor to the county of Flanders, after the death of the old Count Guy in France, but could not succeed in obtaining anything further than a four years' ¹³⁰⁶ truce^o. At its expiration, in the summer of 1310, Robert prepared to invade Hainault with a considerable

^k Melis Stoke, boek x., bl. 376—388.

^l Idem, bl. 393—406.

^m Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1305.

ⁿ Beka in Guid., p. 107.

^o Meyer, ann. Fland., lib. iv., ad ann. 1305, p. 109.

* Vide Note E, at the end of the volume.

1310 army. Count William collected a sufficiently numerous body of cavalry to oppose him, but found himself nearly destitute of infantry, since the people of Holland and Zealand, when called upon to serve in the war, perceiving probably that the security of Holland was sacrificed to the welfare of Hainault, resolutely refused obedience, declaring that they had enough to do in defending their own coasts from the threatened invasion. William was obliged to conclude a treaty with Robert on most disadvantageous terms, agreeing to hold the islands west of the Scheldt as a fief of Flanders; to pay to Guy, the brother of Robert, (the same who had been taken prisoner at Zierikzee,) a yearly sum equal to the revenue of those islands, and to resign all right to Waasland and the four manors^p.

Determined to abide by this covenant no longer than he was obliged, William readily joined Louis X. of France in his subsequent invasion of Flanders.

1315 But the rains which continued during the whole time of the campaign obliged both of the allies to return to their own country, without having undertaken any action of importance; and in the next year Louis was succeeded by his brother Philip V., who early showed a disposition to come to terms of accommodation with

1320 Flanders^q. By the treaty made between France and Flanders, the disputes between the latter and Holland were referred to the arbitration of the King of France; and accordingly an agreement was afterwards entered
1323 into by the two counts, under the mediation of Charles IV., whereby the Count of Flanders released the Counts of Holland from their homage for the Zealand Islands;

^p Meyer, ann. Fland., lib. iv., ad ann. 1310, p. 114.

^q Beka in Guid., p. 108. Villaret Cont. de Velly, tom. viii., p. 43, 44, 83, 84.

and William, on the other hand, renounced all right to Alost, Waasland, and the four manors. Future differences were to be settled by the arbitration of six "good men," chosen on each side. This treaty was confirmed by the principal towns of Holland, Hainault, and Flanders^r.

After the conclusion of this propitious peace, which put a final termination to the long and desolating wars between Holland and Flanders, William strengthened himself still further by alliances with the families of the principal sovereigns of Europe. He himself was united to the first cousin of the reigning King of France, and in this year his daughter Margaret became 1324 the wife of Louis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany. The marriage of his younger daughter Philippa, though negotiated under less promising auspices, proved, in the sequel, an alliance no less honourable than advantageous to Holland.

Edward II., king of England, upon the pacification between that country and France in 1298, had been married to Isabella, daughter of Philip IV.; but from his deficiency in courage and talent, as well as his weak subserviency to contemptible favourites, he failed in securing the love or esteem of the princess. She was now at the court of her brother Charles IV., whither 1325 she had gone for the purpose of making arrangements concerning the homage due for the county of Guienne, but prolonged her stay with a view of forming a party to deprive the husband she detested of the crown, and to place it on the head of her son. Charles IV., though he was said to encourage secretly the design of Isabella, yet, dreading a war with England, publicly refused her any countenance or assistance, and even commanded

^r Meyer, ann. Fland., lib. xii., ad ann. 1322, p. 124. Villaret Cont. de Velly, tom. viii., p. 135.

her to leave the kingdom ; it therefore became necessary to look to some quarter from whence she could receive speedy and efficient aid. Such, William of Holland seemed the most likely to afford ; and, in order to gain his support, Isabella opened negotiations for a marriage between her eldest son Edward, heir apparent to the crown, and Philippa, second daughter of the count^s.

1326 Shortly after, she repaired in person to Hainault, where she interested John de Beaumont, brother of Count William, so successfully in her cause, that he raised a body of three hundred lances* for her service^t. The Holland troops set sail in company with the Queen from Dordrecht, and, on their arrival in England, found a large majority of the nation so disgusted with the government of the court favourites, that scarcely an effort was made in defence of the sovereign. The young prince was proclaimed king by the name of Edward III., and within a short time after sent to Holland to demand his promised bride ; but on account of the youth of the parties, and that their too near relationship made it necessary to procure a dispensation from the Pope, which there was considerable difficulty in obtaining, the marriage was not concluded till the year 1328, when William himself went over to be present at the ceremony^u.

As this connection led the Count of Holland to mingle in the political affairs of England, so did that of his daughter Margaret involve him in the discords then prevailing between the Emperor Louis VII. and

^s Rym. Fœd., tom. iv., p. 153. Johnes's Froissart, chap. 67. (Edit. 1808.) Rym. Fœd., tom. iv., p. 168.

^t Rym. Fœd., tom. iv., p. 271. Johnes's Froissart, chap. 8, 12.

^u Acta Pub. Angl., tom. ii., par. ii., p. 712, 714. Rym. Fœd., tom. iv., p. 313. Froissart, chap. 10, 18.

* Each lance consisting of ten men.

the Pope. At the same time with Louis of Bavaria, Frederick of Austria had been elected emperor; and while the success of the contending parties remained doubtful, Pope John XXII., who hoped to profit by the weakness and dissensions of Germany, and thereby to render Italy independent of the empire, had never in the slightest degree interfered between them^v. But no sooner had Louis consolidated his authority by the defeat and imprisonment of his rival, than John not only claimed the right of judging and deciding on the validity of the election, but declared that the administration of the empire meanwhile belonged to the Holy See; and commanded Louis, under pain of excommunication, to desist from the exercise of the imperial office, until his election had been ratified by the Pope. Finding that this mandate had no effect on the emperor, John declared him excommunicated and deprived of his honours and dignities, absolving from their oath all such as had sworn allegiance to him. The emperor, in his turn, appealed from the sentence of the Pope to a general Council of the Church^w.

But it was in Italy that this contest remained actually to be decided; there the Papal and Imperial factions of Guelf and Ghibelline were at their height, and, as it seemed, nearly equally powerful. The republics of Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and Bologna, with other smaller states, belonged to the former; while Milan, Pisa, Piacenza, and Parma, adhered to the side of the emperor; and the small republic of Lucca, imbued with a strength not its own by the government of the illustrious Castruccio Castracani, was now the rallying point of the Ghibellines. Louis, on the eve of an

^v Herman. Corner. Col., tom. ii., p. 992.

^w Vitodurani Chron. Col., tom. i., p. 1791.

expedition into Italy, without money, and with a suite of no more than six hundred horse, summoned the
 1327 Count of Holland to his assistance, not only as his father-in-law, but as a member of the empire^{x*}. William, associating with himself the Count of Cleves and Juliers, and the Count of Guelderland, assembled all the troops he could muster, and had even begun his march to Italy, when a message from the Pope, threatening him with excommunication, if he lent any aid to the enterprise of Louis, induced him to abandon his design: probably his own disinclination, and that of the greater portion of the nobles, rendered him glad to avail himself of this pretext for so doing^y. The emperor, supported principally by the talents, influence, and military skill of Castracani, triumphed over the
 1328 Guelf faction, and on the 17th of January was crowned with his wife, Margaret of Holland, at Rome, by the Bishops of Castello and Oleria, the Pope being then resident at Avignon^z. As the emperors, however, were accustomed to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, Louis was aware that he could only give the appearance of validity to this ceremony by pronouncing the Holy See vacant: he therefore summoned a general assembly of the clergy at Rome, in which he declared John deposed as a heretic deserving of death; and, in a second assembly, procured the election of Peter Rainalucci Corvaria in his stead, who assumed the name of Nicholas V^a. But the want of

^x Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1327. Beka in Johan., 3d., p. 113.

^y Johan. à Leid, Chron. Belg., lib. xxvii., cap. 24.

^z Vide Letter of the Empress Margaret to the Abbot of Egmond, in Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1329. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1032.

^a Vitod. Chron., col. i., p. 1794, 1795.

* This is the only time that I remember to have seen military service demanded of the Counts of Holland, as vassals of the empire.

money to pay his troops, and the death of his chief supporter, Castracani, compelled the emperor to desert the new Pope, and return to Germany, when William 1329 of Holland applied his utmost endeavours to reconcile him with Pope John, and even undertook a voyage to the Papal court for that purpose. He had advanced to within three days' journey of Avignon, when John 1330 refused either to treat with or to see him, and he returned angry and disappointed to Holland: nor were his subsequent efforts to this effect attended with any better success, since the empire and the Holy See were never reconciled during the lifetime of Louis^b.

The county of Holland gained, under the administration of William, a considerable accession of territory by the subjection of Friezland. According to the treaty of 1165, made between Holland and Utrecht, they were to divide equally the government and revenues of this province: but since that time both the counts and the bishops, being in general fully occupied in other matters, had left the Friezlanders nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of their native independence. Now, however, the state of the bishopric presented to Count William a favourable opportunity for securing to himself the sole authority over Friezland. John III., the present bishop, had pledged a considerable portion of his states to the Count of Holland for the loan of eleven thousand livres tour- 1327 nois, and in a little time had accumulated debts so enormous, that the whole of his revenues, except two thousand livres, were mortgaged to William and his other creditors^c. By this means the influence of the Count of Holland became absolute even within the limits of the diocese: still less, then, might the bishop

^b Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1330.

^c Beka in Johan iii., pp. 114, 115. Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1327.

venture to oppose any design he should form against his more distant possessions: and all inclination to resist was taken from the Friezlanders themselves by the presence of a powerful fleet of Holland ships in the Zuyderzee. They consented, therefore, to become vassals of Count William by surrendering their estates, to receive them back again as fiefs of Holland, and that he alone should appoint schouts, sheriffs, and other officers in Friezland. They did him homage by elevating him on men's shoulders, standing on a shield; a custom transmitted by the ancient Germans, and long after preserved amongst them^d. They appear to have submitted peaceably to his authority as long as he lived.

Notwithstanding this acquisition, the domestic affairs of William's government by no means corresponded to the brilliancy of his foreign administration. The disproportioned expenses of his court, caused principally by an excessive love he manifested for tournaments; the marriage of his daughters, on which occasion the counts were accustomed to make "petitions," or *Beden*, as they were called, to the towns, together with his frequent journeys, cost the country sums so immense as to excite the astonishment and discontent of the frugal Hollanders, and involved him in altercations with the Kemmerlanders, which, had his authority been less respected, might have proved as injurious to him as the revolts of the West Friezlanders had been to some of his predecessors. On one occasion, when William, according to the custom of the county, demanded in person a "petition" of the Kemmerlanders, they replied, that they would consent to pay it only on condition that the count would sign a certain charter of privileges, which they presented to him. On his

^d Johan. à Leyd., lib. xxvii., cap. 28. Tacit. Hist., lib. iv., cap. 15.

refusal, they persisted in withholding the subsidy, and William withdrew in anger to the Hague, whither he shortly after summoned the deputies from Kemmerland before the council, or supreme court of Holland. Here they offered to increase *sixfold* the sum required of them, provided the count would accept their conditions; but, so far from yielding to their solicitations, he deprived them even of those immunities which they already enjoyed, and had purchased "with infinite cost and pains; their sheriffs and burgo-masters being imprisoned on a single word from the count^e." The privileges of the towns, it is evident, stood even yet on a very insecure foundation.

The Dordrechtors, in all probability, were in the habit of supplying liberally the demands of the count, since William granted them freedom from tolls through the whole county, and extended still further the staple right they already enjoyed*, in prejudice of the ancient privileges of the other towns. The people of Dordrecht exercised their rights with so little restraint, and with so many acts of extortion, that they not only roused the hostility of the whole of North Holland, but excited the anger of the count himself, their principal defender. He commanded a general levy against them, the tidings of which reduced them to speedy submission; they were deprived of all their later privileges, and had no small difficulty in retaining those which they before possessed^f.

William, during the latter part of his life, was grievously tormented and enfeebled by the gout^g: yet his helpless condition did not prevent his es-

Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1324.

^e Idem, 1325, 1326.

^g Idem, 1332.

* The privilege of having all merchandize brought up or down the Lek and Merwe exposed for sale first in their city.

pousing actively the cause of his son-in-law, Edward of England, now about to enforce his imaginary claims to the crown of France. He induced the Duke of Brabant, the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Marquis of Juliers, to enter into the alliance with England, and 1337 he himself engaged to furnish the king with one thousand men at arms, at his own cost, who should remain a year in his service; and, in case of necessity, this subsidy was to be increased by a like number, to be paid by the king from the time he landed in the Netherlands. Edward, on his side, agreed to allow the count, and his son the Count of Zealand, the yearly stipend of six thousand livres, in lieu of the annuity he had hitherto enjoyed from the King of France; and that Crevecœur, St. Alliges, and St. Surpeth, in the Cambresis, should remain in possession of the Count of Zealand, who bound himself to fulfil the obligations of this treaty after his father's death^b. Scarcely a fortnight elapsed from the time of its signature when this event occurred. Worn out by his infirmities, the old count expired at Valenciennes, on the 7th of June, leaving one son, William, who succeeded him, and four daughters, Margaret, empress of Germany, Philippa, queen of England, Joanna, married to the Count of Juliers, and Elizabethⁱ.

William, besides the appellation of Good, or Pious, added to his name, was termed the Master of Knights and the Chief of Princes; he was brave in war, affable to his subjects, strict in the administration of justice, and his reputation for valour and sagacity stood so high, that Germany, France, and England eagerly courted his alliance^k. Yet was his government

^b Acta Pub. Angl., tom. ii., par. 2, pp. 928, 955, 970, 971, 972. Froissart, vol. i., chap. 27.

ⁱ Beka in Johan., iii., pp. 115, 107.

^k Froissart, vol. i., chap. 28. Beka in Johan., p. 115.

not altogether a happy one for Holland: he depressed the rising industry of the towns by the demand of enormous "petitions," to supply a lavish, and often unnecessary expenditure; and he is accused of sacrificing the interests of Holland to those of Hainault, or, as his contemporary historian expresses it, "forsaking the fruitful Leah for the more beautiful Rachel¹." Added to this, he was negligent of the commercial interests of his subjects, since, although Edward III. forbade the exportation of wools from England*, and gave special permission to the Brabanters to purchase them in that country, while he encouraged the cloth manufacturers of Zealand to settle and carry on their trade in his dominions, it does not appear that the Count of Holland offered the slightest remonstrance against these acts, though so injurious to the manufactures of the county^m. He, however, effected a measure of great advantage to Holland, by incorporating with it the lordships of Amstel and Woerden after the death of his uncle, Guy, bishop of Utrecht; and from this time may be dated the rise of the celebrated city of Amsterdamⁿ.

The famine and plague which desolated the greater portion of Europe in the early part of this century, visited Holland with equal severity, but with less fatal effects, owing to the shortness of its duration: within a very few months after the scarcity had reached its greatest height, the country, owing to plentiful crops,

¹ Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1323.

^m Acta Pub. Ang., tom. ii., par. 2, pp. 943, 971, 969.

ⁿ Johan. à Leid., lib. xxvii., cap. 13.

* The prohibition was afterwards taken off, but the trade continued subject to many restrictions. Acta pub., tom. ii., par. 2, pp. 1322, 1158, 1225. The staple of wool was at length (1362,) fixed at Calais. Rapin, Hist. Eng., book x., p. 437.

and the importation of corn from the Baltic, which now began to increase considerably, was blessed with such abundance, that the price of rye, a grain much used by the people in their manufacture of bread, fell from fifteen-pence to three-pence halfpenny the bushel^o.

- 1337 WILLIAM IV.—The first act of William's government was to renew the treaty made by his father with Edward of England, stipulating that, if summoned by the emperor, his vicar or lieutenant, to defend the boundaries of the empire, he would supply one thousand men at arms, to be paid by the king, at the rate of fifteen Florentine guilders, or forty-five shillings, a month, each man: and, in case of necessity, the count should levy one thousand additional men at arms for the king's service: besides the expenses of the troops, Edward was to pay the count the sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling^p. The immense sacrifice at which Edward purchased the alliance of the princes of the Netherlands cannot fail to excite our astonishment, and events, in fact, proved that he rated it far above its
- 1338 value. On the king's arrival at Antwerp, he found how irreparable was the loss he had sustained in the old count, his father-in-law, the centre and soul of the confederacy; since the allies now came to an unanimous resolution, that they could not engage in war against France without the command of the emperor, the liege lord of the greater portion of them. Edward immediately despatched the Count of Juliers to the imperial court, and through the influence of the Empress Margaret, his wife's sister, obtained the title of vicar-general of the empire*, and the privilege of coining

^o Wil. Proc., ad ann. 1314. Beka in Johan, p. 109.

^p Acta, Pub. Ang., tom. ii., par. 2, p. 984.

* The Earl of Guelderland was created a duke on this occasion.—Herm. Cor., Col. ii., p. 1054.

money in that quality. The emperor, likewise, addressed letters to the towns of Holland, "commanding and admonishing" them to furnish readily their quotas 1338 of armed men for the count's service^r.

Thus satisfied, the allied armies united with Edward to lay siege to Cambray; but, finding that its reduction would prove a work of time, the king broke up the siege and began his march towards Picardy. Thither the Count of Holland refused to follow him, asserting that, being a vassal of the King of France, in respect of Hainault, he was bound rather to defend than assist in invading his dominions. Edward, out of revenge, took his way through Hainault, which suffered grievously from the passage of his troops. As this was in direct violation of a promise made by the king, not to allow Hainault to sustain any injury, William immediately joined the French camp at Vironfosse. The two armies separated at the end of the campaign, without having come to any engagement^r.

In the next year, the Count of Holland, exasperated 1339 at the circumstance of Philip's having given the officers of the French army permission to supply themselves with provisions and money by plundering his territories, again returned to the English alliance, and declared war against France, which he now invaded, and took some places of small note; but, on the other hand, his county of Hainault was cruelly ravaged by the French troops, under the Duke of Normandy, who laid siege to Thyn l'Eveque. The count, anxious to preserve this fortress, besought the assistance of King Edward, then in England. In compliance with the solicitations of his ally, Edward embarked on the 22nd of June at

^r Froissart, vol. i., ch. 31, 33. Beka in Johan., iii., p. 115. Boxborn, Theat. Urb. Holl., p. 133.

^r Froissart, vol. i., ch. 37, 39, 41. Acta Pub., tom. ii., par. 2, p. 1088.

Dover, and fell in with the French fleet of one hundred and twenty large, besides numerous smaller vessels, near Sluys. It does not appear that either William or the Hollanders had any share in the signal victory gained by the English and Flemish on this occasion; but the count was present at a meeting of the confederates subsequently held at Vilvoorden, where the siege of Tournay was resolved on, and attended the king thither at the head of a powerful and well-equipped body of cavalry from Holland and Zealand. He did not, however, remain with the king's camp during the whole of the siege, but employed his troops in gaining possession of Mortaigne, St. Amand, and some other small towns^a.

While Edward was engaged in this enterprise, Joanna, countess-dowager of Holland, his mother-in-
 1340 law, sister to the French King, interposed her good offices between the belligerent powers, and a truce for nine months was brought about by her mediation, which was afterwards prolonged for two years^b.

It has been before mentioned, that the finances of the see of Utrecht were reduced to so dilapidated a condition, that the bishop, John III., had been forced to alienate nearly the whole of his revenues. His successor, John van Arkel, had, on the contrary, managed his affairs so well, that within a short time after his succession, he redeemed the whole of Overysse, pledged to the Duke of Guelderland; and, in order to live with more frugality, he withdrew to Grenoble, leaving his brother, Robert van Arkel, protector of the bishopric in his absence. Whether because the Count of Holland himself expected this trust, or upon some other ground of offence, he declared war against

^a Froissart, chap. 43—49, 51, 52, 59. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1057.

^b Froissart, vol. i., chap. 62. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1058.

Utrecht immediately after the bishop's departure, and laid siege to the city with an army composed of one duke (probably of Brabant), thirteen counts, fifty-two barons, thirteen hundred knights, and twenty-eight thousand choice troops^u. He had remained six weeks before the town, when he was induced by his uncle, John de Beaumont, to conclude a truce, to which he 1345 consented only on condition that four hundred citizens should sue for pardon, kneeling before him, barefoot and bareheaded, and that he should receive a sum of twenty thousand pounds Flemish for the expences of the war^v. When we call to mind the termination of a like siege in 1138, we cannot help being struck with the vast change which had taken place in the relative situation of the count and bishop.

From Utrecht, William returned to Dordrecht, whence he sailed shortly after to the Zuyderzee, for the purpose of chastising the Friezlanders, who, irritated by his continual and heavy exactions, had taken up arms against him. A storm separating his ships, the troops were forced to land in small bodies in different parts of the country; the Friezlanders attacking them while thus divided, slew three thousand seven hundred; and the count himself, with some of his nobility, being surrounded by a great number of the enemy, was killed exactly on the spot where the ancient sovereigns of Friesland were accustomed to hold their supreme court^w. He left no children by his wife, Joanna of Brabant. She afterwards married Wenceslaus, count of Luxemburg, into whose family she brought the rich duchy of Brabant^x.

^u Beka in Johan., iv., p. 117, 118.

^v Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1069. Beka in Johan., iv., p. 118.

^w Vit. Chron., col. i., p. 1913. Beka in Johan., iv., p. 118. Froissart, vol. ii., chap. 115.

^x Johan. à Leid., lib. xxix., cap. 4.

William was the first Count of Holland who resumed the imperfect fiefs which devolved to the county in default of direct heirs, and divided them amongst his vassals, instead of granting them to one of the nearest collateral heirs, upon payment of a reasonable price, as his predecessors were accustomed to do[†].*.

It is under the government of this count, also, that we meet with the first mention of loans. To enable him to carry on the war with Utrecht, he urged the towns of Holland and Zealand to lend him a sum equivalent to three hundred pounds of our money, promising not to levy any more petitions till this debt were paid. The towns made it a condition of their compliance, that he should grant them new privileges, and required that the nobles should become surety for him[‡].

MARGARET.—William dying without issue, his nearest heirs were his four sisters; and as the county had always been an undivided hereditary state, it appeared naturally to devolve on Margaret the eldest. Edward, king of England, however, the husband of Philippa, the second daughter of William III., put in his claim to a share of the inheritance, and appointed Otho, lord of Cuyck, John de Clynton, and Adam de Shareshull, to arrange the terms of the division[§].

As the Emperor Louis considered himself entitled to the whole of the states, whether as husband of the elder daughter, or as suzerain of a fief escheated to the empire on failure of direct heirs, he delayed not to

† Phil. à Leid. de Curâ Reip., cap. 89, p. 276.

‡ Brief van Willem IV., in Jan van Hout, p. 25.

§ Acta Pub. Ang., tom. iii., par. 1, p. 65, 80.

* This must not be confounded with the relief, which was paid by all heirs on coming into possession of a fief.

invest his wife with the titles of Countess of Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Hainault. In spite of the rigorous season, Margaret repaired in the month of January to Holland, to secure herself in possession of ¹³⁴⁶ her states before the King of England could gain a footing there. The people took advantage of her anxiety to be acknowledged, to obtain some desired rights and immunities, of which the most important was the engagement she entered into for herself and her successors, never to undertake a war beyond the limits of the county, unless with consent of the nobles, commons, and "good towns;" and if she did so, none should be bound to serve except by their own favour and freewill^b. She was then unanimously acknowledged by all the members of the state, but shortly after recalled by her husband to Bavaria. As Louis, the eldest son of the emperor, had resigned his right to the succession^c, she sent her second son, William, then in early youth, to take the administration of affairs during her absence, surrendering to him ¹³⁴⁷ Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Hainault, and retaining for herself merely a pension of ten thousand old crowns. After the death of the emperor, which happened in the October of 1347, Margaret, finding that William was either unable to pay, or purposely withheld this trifling annuity, and irritated at his breach of faith, returned to Holland, and resuming the government, obliged William to retire into Hainault^d. He did not, however, remain tranquil under this deprivation, but secretly used every means in his power to conciliate the favour of the nobles; and the dissensions ¹³⁴⁹

^b Beka in Johan., iv., p. 119. Vit. Chron., Col. ii., p. 1913. Groot Plakaat, boek, 5 deel, bl. 713.

^c Dipl. Ludovic, ad ann. Egmondani, p. 228.

^d Johan. à Leid., lib. xxix., cap. 2, 11. Beka in Johan., iv., p. 119.

that now arose between the mother and son gave form and vigour to the two parties of nobles and people, which in this century divided Holland, as well as Germany and France*. The nobles espoused the side of William, while the people and inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of the larger and more aristocratic cities, adhered to Margaret, who was supported besides by the Lord of Brederode, and a few others of the most popular nobility. The former were called by the party name of "Cods," because the cod devours all the smaller fish; and the latter by that of "Hook," because with that apparently insignificant instrument one is able to catch the cod^c. It does not appear what occasion gave rise to these very primitive appellations, so characteristic of the people and their pursuits.

The cods, dissatisfied ere long with the somewhat feeble administration of Margaret, sent repeated messages to William in Hainault, intreating him to come without delay into Holland, and assume the government of the county. After some hesitation, real or affected, he complied with their request, and secretly repaired to Gorinchem, where he was met by the men of Delft, who brought him in triumph into their city; and shortly after, most of the principal towns of Holland and West Friezland acknowledged him as count^d. Perceiving that the party of the hooks was not sufficiently strong to reinstate her in the government of Holland, Margaret besought the assistance of the King

^c Johan. à Leid., lib. xxix., cap. 16. Appendix ad Beka Suffridi Petri, p. 144.

^d Johan. à Leid., lib. xxix., cap. 17.

* Vide Account of the War between the Nobles and People in France. Froissart, vol. ii., chap. 180—182; likewise Schmidt, Hist. des Alle., liv. vii., chap. 10; also note F at the end of volume.

of England against her son, which she obtained, by promising to resign the government of the county for a certain number of years into the hands of Edwards. During the negotiation, the "cods" in Holland seized and destroyed seventeen castles belonging to the hook nobles, who had gone to join Margaret in Hainault^b. As soon, therefore, as she could collect a fleet 1351 of English, French, and Hainault ships, she sailed to the Island of Walcheren, where she fell in with a number of Holland vessels, commanded by her son in person. A sharp engagement ensued, in which William was totally defeated, and forced to retreat to Holland. Margaret, anxious to improve her advantage, followed him to the Maas, where, William having received some reinforcements, another desperate battle was fought, ending in the entire discomfiture of Margaret. A vast number of her adherents were slain, and Theodore van Brederode, one of the few nobles who espoused her cause, and the chief stay of her party, was taken prisoner. The remainder of the hook nobles were afterwards banished, and their castles and houses razed to the groundⁱ.

Margaret fled to England, where she prevailed upon the king to mediate a peace between herself and her son. She was shortly after followed by William himself, who married there Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster^{k*}. William likewise accepted the mediation of Edward; but after affairs had been

^a Acta Pub. Ang., tom. iii., par. i., p. 206—212.

^b Suff. Pet., p. 144.

ⁱ Johan. à Leid., lib. xxix., cap. 18, 19. Beka in Johan., iv., p. 119.

^k Acta Pub., tom. iii., par. i., p. 227—236.

* Coheiress with Blanche, married to John of Ghent, the king's third son, who became by this marriage Duke of Lancaster; Matilda being, for some reason or other, excluded from the inheritance.

pending for a considerable time†, the decision was referred to John de Beaumont, uncle to Margaret, and Walrave of Luxemburg. According to the terms of the agreement made under their auspices, William retained Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, while Hainault remained in the possession of Margaret during her life, with a yearly income of about two thousand four hundred pounds (twenty-eight thousand pounds of forty groots¹).

Margaret did not long survive the reconciliation with her son. She died in 1356, and thus the county was again transferred to a foreign family, passing from the house of Hainault into that of Bavaria^m.

¹ Groot Plakaatb., 3 deel., bl. iv. Schryver's Graaven, 2 deel., bl. 80.

^m Johan à Leid., lib. xxx., cap. 15.

+ Edward demanded that all the castles and forts besieged by either party should meanwhile be delivered up to his ambassadors, so that it may be supposed he was in no hurry to conclude. Acta Pub., tom. iii., par. i., p. 234—236.

CHAPTER V.

William V. War with Utrecht. Mediation between Brabant and Flanders. William visits England. His Lunacy. Government of his Brother Albert. Parties of the Hooks and Cods. Albert favours the Hooks. Revolt of the Cod Nobles, and of Delft. Claims of Edward III. of England surrendered. Interference of Holland in the Affairs of Flanders. Matrimonial Alliances between Burgundy and Holland. Death of the Countess of Holland. Favour of Alice van Poelgeest and the Cod Nobles at Court. Murder of Alice by the Hooks. William, Son of Albert, retires to France. Returns to his Father. Expeditions to Friesland. Truce. Revolt of the Lord of Arkel. Compromise. Death and Character of Albert. His Widow renounces her Claims on his Estate. William VI. Violence of Party-spirit. Disturbances in the Towns. Hostilities committed by the Lord of Arkel. Solicits the Aid of Guelderland. Treaty between Holland and Guelderland. Hollanders evacuate Friesland. Marriage of the Count's Daughter, Jacoba, with the Duke of Touraine. Duke of Touraine becomes Dauphin. Affairs of France. Death of the Dauphin. Nobles and Towns acknowledge Jacoba as Successor to the County. Death and Character of William VI. Herring Fishery.

WE find no event worthy to arrest our attention during the reign of this prince, since the only transactions in which he was engaged, were a petty warfare with the Bishop of Utrecht, unattended by any important results; and the mediation of a peace between Wenceslaus, duke of Brabant, and the Count of Flanders. As the price of his interference on this occasion, 1357 he received from the former the lordship of Heusden, and having afterwards adjudged the town of Mechlin, the subject of contention, to Louis of Flanders, this decision, whereby Brabant was deprived of both these possessions, gave rise to the old saying common in the country, "Heusden mine, Mechlin thine^a." Edward

^a Beka in Johan., iv., p. 119. Johan. à Leid, lib. xxx., cap. 16.

of England, finding it impossible to overcome the opposition of the Hollanders and Zealanders, to any dismemberment of their State, had, during the life of Margaret, ceased to press his claims, and subsequently acknowledged William, who now went to the court of England to pay a visit of ceremony to the king and his aunt the Queen Philippa^b. After his return, he began to show symptoms of aberration of intellect, which soon increased to uncontrollable frenzy. He killed with his own hand, and without any cause of offence, Gerard van Wateringen, a nobleman highly esteemed in the country; in consequence of which act he was deprived of the government, and placed in confinement at the Hague, whence he was removed to the Castle of Quesnoi in Hainault, where he continued a hopeless lunatic until his death, which did not occur till twenty years afterwards^c. It was thought that the remorse which William endured for his conduct towards his mother, was the occasion of this calamity; but as he is represented to have been naturally of a fierce and cruel disposition, it is probable that the seeds of his malady had always lurked in his constitution.

As William and the Emperor Louis his father, had declared Albert, younger brother of the former, heir to the county, if he should die without issue, the government in the present case appeared naturally to devolve on him, as standing next in succession. The cods, however, thinking that Albert was inclined to the party of the hooks, and that they should consequently be deprived of the authority which now rested wholly in their hands, used their utmost efforts to obtain the nomination of Matilda of Lancaster, the

^b Acta Pub. Ang., tom. iii., par. i., p. 252, 364.

^c Johan. à Leid, lib. xxx., cap. 17; xxxi., cap. 29. Annal. Egmond, cap. 61.

wife of William, to the regency, although, (such is the perversion of party spirit,) their principal objection against the government of the Countess Margaret, had been the dislike they felt to be ruled by a woman, “vervrouwd.” As, however, they found it impossible to sustain the claims of Matilda upon any plausible ground, since she was a foreigner, and had no children to succeed, they yielded to the wishes of the nation in general, and acknowledged Albert as governor*, secur- 1359 ing a pension of 12,000 schilds (750*l.*) to the Countess Matilda^d.

On assuming the administration, Albert pledged himself to govern during his brother's incapacity, with the assistance of the “good towns,” and according to the advice of those whom he and the good towns should appoint; and to do justice in all cases according to the laws and customs of the land^e. Albert's first care was to diminish somewhat of the power of the cods, by bestowing the offices of the county upon the nobles of the hook party; the principal of these, Reynold van Brederode, he invested with the office of Bailiff of Kemmerland, of which he deprived John van Blomestein, a cod nobleman. On Reynold's first journey as bailiff through Kemmerland, he was attacked by a party of cods, who lay in wait for him near Kas-trichem, three of his retinue were killed, and he escaped with his life only by taking sanctuary in the church of the village. Immediately after this outrage, the cods shut themselves up in the fort of Heemskerk, where they maintained a siege of eleven weeks, chiefly by the assistance of the citizens of Delft, who themselves broke out into open rebellion, chose Henry van Woerden,

^d Suff. Pet., p. 147.

^e Boxhorn op Reigersberg, deel. i., bl. 293.

* “Ruwaard,” a word signifying Conservator of the Peace.

Gilbert van Nyenrode, with other nobles, as their leaders, and making an irruption into the Hague, threw open all the prisons, and carried the inmates with them back to Delft. Albert was at that time in Zealand, but on the news of these commotions, repaired immediately to Holland, raised a general levy of troops, and laid siege to Delft. The citizens withstood the powerful force which he brought against them in person, for the space of more than ten weeks. At length they were obliged to surrender, on condition that the town should pay a fine of 40,000 schilds*, that its walls should be thrown down, and that the inhabitants should humbly sue for pardon, from which their leaders and the strangers found among them were excluded. Only one of the nobles, Henry van Woerden, suffered death; the rest made their escape to Heusden, which they held out during a twelvemonth, and, in fine, obtained a pardon, on promise of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land^f.

Edward III. of England, although he had acknowledged William as Count of Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and Friezland, perhaps from his being too much engaged in the wars with France to enforce his pretensions, was yet so far from having surrendered the claim of Philippa, that, after her death, which happened in 1364 this year, he bestowed the portion to which she was entitled on his son Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, between whom and Margaret, daughter of Louis van der Male, count of Flanders, a negotiation of marriage was then on foot. It was upon the knowledge of this fact, probably, that Albert summoned an assembly of

^f Johan. à Leid, lib. xxxi., cap. 3, 4, 5, 6. Suff. Pet., p. 147. Beka in Johan., p. 121. Boxborn, Theat. Urb., p. 163.

* Acta Pub. Ang., tom. iii., par. ii., p. 779. Froissart, vol. iii., ch. 226.

* An old coin, value 15*d*.

the nobles and towns at Geertruydenberg, and obtained from them a decree, that the late Queen of England had no right to any portion of Holland, which being one undivided county, had lawfully devolved upon Count William, in right of his mother, and upon himself as governor^h. Fortified with this declaration, and provided with full powers from the towns, Albert set out for the court of England, accompanied by several 1368 nobles, in order to terminate the affair, which, nevertheless, was not done until six years after. The good fortune that had hitherto attended the arms of Edward in France, had then so far deserted him, that he was no longer in a condition voluntarily to provoke an enemy, or lose an ally; and he therefore gratified the Governor of Holland by a final surrender of all claims 1372 in right of his wife, to a share in the inheritance of William IIIⁱ.

Although the continual wars between Holland and Flanders had now ceased, the former found herself still involved in the affairs of her former foe, though in 1379 a somewhat different manner; and, on the present occasion, the feelings of the people and government were arrayed in opposition to each other. The extravagance and rapacity of Louis van der Male, count of Flanders, had excited discontent and hatred among his subjects, especially the inhabitants of Ghent, who, weary of his extortions, at length flatly refused to contribute another farthing^k. The count, deeply offended, quitted Ghent, and retired to Bruges, the inhabitants of which town having accommodated him with a moderate sum, obtained permission to dig a canal from

^h Boxhorn op Reigersberg, deel. i., bl. 68.

ⁱ Acta Pub. Ang., tom. iii., par. ii., p. 789, 945—947.

^k Meyer, Ann. Fland., lib. xiii., ad ann. 1379, p. 170. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1131.

the river Leys, above Ghent, to Bruges. To these causes of discontent was added the imprisonment of a burghess of Ghent by the count's bailiff, in contravention of the privileges of the city. Irritated by these circumstances, the Ghenters broke out into hostilities assumed the white hood, the usual insignia of revolt drove the pioneers from the canal at Bruges; murdered the count's bailiff, who, with two hundred men, had been sent to arrest the ringleaders; and plundered and burnt Adeghem, a favourite country residence of Louis, near Ghent¹.

From this beginning, the revolt soon extended itself to the other towns: the burghers chose leaders from among themselves, and, under their command, laid siege to Oudenarde, and made an assault on Dendermonde, which still continued faithful to the count. They were foiled in the latter enterprise by the courage and conduct of Theodore van Brederode, a Holland nobleman, whom Louis had placed in command of the garrison; but the siege of Oudenarde 1380 lasted until a compromise was effected between the 1381 count and his subjects, which, however, was soon broken, and Louis, in the next year, having subdued Courtray and Ypres, laid siege to Ghent².

Albert of Holland constantly supported the cause of Louis, and afforded him such assistance as he was able, which, nevertheless, was but trifling, since he himself was slenderly provided with funds, and the inclinations of the great majority of his subjects were decidedly favourable to the success of the insurgents. In defiance of his express prohibition, they continued

¹ Froissart, vol. v., chap. 20—23. Pontus Heuterus, *Rer. Burgund.*, lib. ii., cap. 7.

² Meyer, *Ann. Fland.*, lib. xiii., ad ann. 1379, 1380, 1381, p. 172—176. Froissart, chap. 25, 26, 50.

during the whole war to send them stores of provision, ammunition, and other necessities, especially during the siege of Ghent, when the inhabitants, having secured the conveyance by water from Holland and Zealand, received from thence regular supplies of meal and bread, when shut out by the besieging army from the resources of their own country. But their aid, however liberally afforded, was insufficient to prevent scarcity among the immense multitude collected within the walls of the town; and it became at last so excessive, that the men of Ghent besought the mediation of the Duchess of Brabant and Albert of Holland, to procure peace and pardon from their sovereign. Six of their number, therefore, with the ambassadors of the two princes, repaired for this purpose to Louis, at Bruges, who, well knowing the straits to which the town was reduced, haughtily replied, that "he would consent to no peace unless the whole population, both male and female, from the age of fifteen to sixty, came out to meet him on the road to Bruges, barefoot and bareheaded, with halters about their necks, when he would pardon or put them to death, according to his pleasure". This answer being reported to the citizens, it was determined to select five thousand of their choicest troops, and to send them, under the command of Philip van Artevelde, to attack the count in Bruges. They accordingly marched thither, when Louis no sooner heard of their approach, than he collected his troops, to the number of forty thousand, among whom were eight hundred lances, and advanced about a league beyond the town to give them battle, determined to extirpate them to a man, and thus put an end to the war. The host of enemies in front, with ruin

^a Froissart, vol. vi., chap. 1, 2, 13, 14. Meyer, Ann. Fland., ad ann. 1381, p. 180—183.

and starvation behind, gave to the Ghenters the courage of despair; at the first fierce onset, they drove back the citizens of Bruges: the lances, though composed of the flower of the nobility and knights of Flanders, made not the smallest resistance; the flight soon became universal. The count, with about forty more, hurried back to Bruges, closely pursued by the Ghent men, who entered at the same time with the fugitives, and speedily made themselves masters of the city. Louis himself escaped capture only by means of a poor woman, who concealed him in her hut, whence he fled in disguise, and by night, to Lille, in Brabant. After this victory, all the towns in Flanders, except Oudenarde and Dendermonde, submitted to the Ghenters. In this distress, Louis was forced to supplicate the aid of his liege lord, Charles VI., king of France, who, at the age of fourteen, marched into Flanders in person, at the head of a powerful army, and defeated the insurgents in a battle near Roozbeech, where their leader, Philip van Artevelde, was slain°.

This event restored, in some measure, the affairs of Louis; but the Ghenters obtaining not long after the assistance of a large body of English troops, under the command of the Bishop of Norwich, he was unable to effect the pacification of his states during his lifetime. 1384 His death, which happened in January, 1384, made way for the succession of Philip, duke of Burgundy*, in right of his wife, Margaret, the only legitimate child

° Meyer, lib. xiii., ad ann. 1381—1382, p. 183—191. Froissart, vol. vi., chap. 16, 17, 19, 45. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1133, 1137.

* Philip was the youngest son of John II., king of France, by whom he was invested with the duchy of Burgundy, after the death of Eudes, the last male descendant of Robert I. of France, who had received the duchy as a fief from King Henry I., his brother, in 1032.—Villaret Con. de Velly, tom. ix., p. 484.

of Louis, to the counties of Flanders and Artois; and these rich and flourishing provinces thus became a portion of the Burgundian state. Margaret was likewise heiress to the duchy of Brabant, through her aunt, Joanna, the present duchess, (widow, first, of William IV. of Holland, and afterwards, of Wenceslaus of Luxemburg,) who, in order to extend still further the influence of her family in the Netherlands, laboured effectually to promote an union between the houses of Burgundy and Holland. Through her means, a double marriage was concluded between William, count of Oostervant, eldest son of the Count of Holland, and Margaret, daughter of Philip of Burgundy; and between John, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, and Margaret, daughter of Albert. Their nuptials, attended by the King of France in person, 1385 were celebrated at Cambray, in a style of unparalleled magnificence. After his accession to the county of Flanders, Philip of Burgundy made a reconciliation with his new subjects, granting to the citizens of Ghent full pardon and restitution of all their franchises and immunities, on condition only of their return to obedience^p.

The marriage of William and Margaret was fol- Feb. lowed early in the next spring by the death of their ^{22,} mother, Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Brieg, in 1386 Silesia; an event which caused a great change in the state of parties, and much confusion in Holland. Albert, after the loss of his wife, formed an illicit connection with Alice van Poelgeest, the daughter of a nobleman of the cod party, whose youth, beauty, and insinuating manners, soon gained such an ascendancy over the mind of her lover, that the whole court was henceforward governed according to her caprices.

^p Froissart, vol. vi., chap. 54, 67, 73, 74; vol. vii., chap. 21.

The cod party, in consequence, daily increased in power and influence, to the great dissatisfaction of the hook nobles, now long accustomed to enjoy alone the favour and countenance of their sovereign; and instigated at once by ambition and revenge, they resolved upon a deed of horror and blood, to which, it is said, they induced William van Oostervant to lend his assistance*. A number of them assembled at the Hague, where the Lady Alice was then residing at the
 1390 court-house, and on the night of the 21st of August forced their way, completely armed, into her apartment. On their entrance, William Kuser, the count's steward, threw himself before them to defend the terrified girl from their violence. He was slaughtered on the spot; and, a moment after, Alice herself fell dead, and covered with wounds, at their feet^a. The instant they had perpetrated this act of savage atrocity, the murderers betook themselves to flight. However deeply Albert might have felt the outrage committed against his feelings and dignity, yet, whether from the number and station of the guilty, or that there still lingered some relics of goodwill towards his former friends, he took no measures to bring them to justice, until urged by the importunate solicitations of Conrad

^a Johan, à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 37—42. Suff. Pet., p. 149.

* Petrus Suffridus accuses William of participation in this crime, and the accusation has been adopted by later authors, but, as it seems, without sufficient foundation. Neither John of Leyden, his contemporary, nor Beka, attribute to him any share in it; that he befriended the perpetrators when brought to justice three years after, is undoubted; among them were some of the most illustrious of the nobility, and his personal friends ("diligens prædictos nobiles." Johan à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 47); but that he should, if he had been a party concerned, have forsaken his accomplices to attend a tournament in England a month after, is highly improbable: he is mentioned by Froissart as being present at the one held about Michaelmas in this year by Richard II., when he was made knight of the garter. Vol. x., chap. 21.

Kuser, the father of the murdered man, when he at length determined to cite the hook nobles, to the number of fifty-four, who were supposed to have had a share in the transaction, before the supreme court of 1393 Holland. As not one appeared, their lives and estates were declared forfeit. William van Oostervant repeatedly besought his father to pardon the criminals; but, finding him deaf to his intreaties, he retired in anger to the fortress of Altena, and thence to the court of France, whither he had been summoned to do 1394 homage for the county of Oostervant^r.

While there a circumstance occurred, which was the occasion of bringing about a reconciliation between the father and son. As the Count of Oostervant sat one day at the king's table, a herald reproached him with having neither shield nor arms, since both lay buried with his great-uncle William* on the shore of Friezland. Stung with this affront, and eager to wipe out the disgrace, William solicited permission of Philip, 1395 duke of Burgundy, to accompany his son, John de Nevers, in the crusade he was then preparing against the Turks in Hungary. Philip advised him rather to seek a reconciliation with his father, by proposing an expedition into Friezland, that he might at once avenge the death of his uncle, and re-conquer his inheritance; an enterprise which the present condition of Friezland rendered it highly probable would be successful^s.

Since the death of William IV., the counts of Holland had not attempted to interfere in the government of Friezland, or even to get themselves acknow-

^r Johan à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 47, 48. Beka in Floren., p. 121. Froissart, vol. x., chap. 21.

^s Johan à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 50. Froissart, vol. xi., chap. 30.

* William IV, who was killed in Friezland in 1345.

ledged as lords of it. Meanwhile, two factions had sprung up of the nobles and people, analogous to those of the cods and hooks in Holland*, which persecuted each other with unrelenting fury; and the country, distracted and enfeebled by their dissensions, appeared to present an easy prey to the conqueror. Albert, therefore, was readily induced to favour the designs of his son, and to entrust to him the conduct of the proposed expedition: he solicited succours from France and England, who each sent a body of troops to his aid, the former under the command of the Count Waleren de St. Pol, the latter under the Earl of Cornwall: 1396 these joined the army of Holland, strengthened still further by a number of German auxiliaries, at Enkhuy-sent†. From hence the allied troops set sail on the 22nd of August, in a fleet of four thousand and forty ships‡, and arrived in safety and good order at the Kuinder, where the landing was to be effected. The Friezlanders, meanwhile, had not neglected to take measures for their defence; they made an alliance with the Bishop of Utrecht, preventing by this means the passage of the Holland troops into their country by land; and assembled together in arms to the number of thirty thousand men. Unfortunately, however, they

* Ubbo Emmius *Rer. Frisic.*, lib. xiv., p. 227. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 50, 51. Froissart, vol. xi., chap. 37, 38.

* They are distinguished by the untranslatable terms of “Vetkoopers and Schieringers.”

† This number appears immense; but John of Leyden, a contemporary, estimates the number of troops to be conveyed across the Zuyderzee at one hundred and eighty thousand, in which the historian of Friesland agrees. Froissart says they were more than one hundred thousand; consequently, if, as we may suppose, the vessels were for the most part small, they must have had this number for their transport, since five and twenty men would have been a sufficient average complement for each. The men of Haarlem alone are said to have supplied twelve hundred mariners. Froissart, vol. xi., chap. 39.

refused to follow the wise counsel of one of the chief of their nobility, Juwo Juwinga, who advised that they should shut themselves up in their fortresses, allowing the enemy to land unmolested, and to waste their strength in sieges, when hunger would soon compel their retreat out of a country totally destitute of the means of supporting so vast a multitude. Heedless of his monition, the Friezlanders advanced to meet the invaders in three divisions, and declaring that they would prefer to die "free Friezlanders," rather than submit to a foreign master, they determined to make their stand at the dyke nearest the landing-place. They were full of spirit and courage; but being ill armed, and clad only in coats of leather or coarse cloth, they were ill able to withstand the well-tempered weapons and heavy armour of their enemies, who were said, moreover, to have amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand strong. In spite of these disadvantages, they maintained a fierce and obstinate contest for some hours: fourteen hundred were slain, and the rest forced to take flight; numbers more perished in the pursuit, in which only fifty were made prisoners, since they persisted to the last in their resolution rather to die than yield. The victorious army carried fire and sword through the country, but on the other hand suffered much injury from the frequent skirmishes in which they were engaged by the Friezlanders, until the approach of the rainy season obliged them to retire into winter quarters: they carried with them the body of Count William, which had been taken up from the place of its sepulture. Count Albert was, for the time, acknowledged Lord of Friesland^a.

But little more than a year elapsed, however, before the Friezlanders again threw off their forced subjec-

^a Froissart, vol. xi. chap. 39. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 51.

tion, surprised Staveren, and forced the garrison to evacuate. At the same time, the people of the Ommeland of Groningen made a treaty of union with the town, one of the articles of which purported, that
 1398 they should mutually assist each other to keep the
 Hollanders out of their country. From henceforward Groningen and the Ommeland remained permanently united. William of Oostervant once more conducted an army into Friezland, and forced the inhabitants to do homage to his father, and to promise a subsidy of sixpence for every house: but no sooner had he departed than they again revolted; and at length Count
 1400 Albert found himself obliged to make a truce with them for six years, without insisting upon their acknowledgment of him as lord of Friezland^v.

The principal reason which prompted him to the adoption of this unpalatable measure was the exhausted condition of his finances. He had been obliged to sell, or mortgage, several of his personal estates; the towns likewise, and many private individuals, had bought annuities of him, stripping themselves of their ready money to supply his necessities; but notwithstanding their efforts he now found himself destitute of resources to carry on the war: added to this, was the rebellion of one of his own subjects, which, giving him full employment in Holland, left him no leisure to pursue the subjugation of Friezland^w.

John, lord of Arkel, had long filled the office of Stadtholder* of Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, as well as that of treasurer of the count's private domains, without having given any account of his administration of

^v Ubbo Emmius, lib. xvi., xvii. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 55.

^w Velius Chronyck van Hoorn, p. 14. Handvesten van Kemmerland in't Vat. Hist., boek ii., deel. 20.

* This office appears to have been created by Count Albert.

the revenues. This was now sharply demanded of him by the count; but Arkel, a man of an ambitious and insolent temper, instead of obeying, declared war against his sovereign, and endeavoured to take by surprise the strong frontier town of Oudewater: failing 1401 in this attempt, he made an irruption into Krimpen, whence he returned with considerable booty to Gorinchem, a town confided to his government by Albert some time before^x. The warfare had lasted two years, rather to the advantage of John of Arkel, when William, of Oostervant, himself took the command of 1403 an army, composed of native troops and auxiliaries from England, Cleves, and Utrecht, for the raising of which the towns once more contributed funds, and laid siege to Gorinchem. But although the immense number of his soldiers enabled him to surround the town entirely, and cut off all communication from without, he could not, after a blockade of twelve weeks, force it to a surrender. He therefore listened to the terms of accommodation proposed by the mediation of his brother, the bishop elect of Liege, that John van Arkel should retain all his possessions, but be obliged to sue for pardon on his knees, and permit the count's flag to wave a whole day on the tower of Arkel. As Arkel's principal object was to evade the inspection of his accounts, he gladly acceded to any terms of which that was not made a condition^y.

This was the last event of importance which occurred under Count Albert's administration. He died on the 15th of December of the next year, at the 1404 age of sixty-seven, having governed the county for forty-six years. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter

^x Heda in Fred., p. 266. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 60, 61.

^y Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 61, 62. Heda in Fred., p. 267. Suff. Pet., p. 151.

of the Duke of Brieg, he left three sons, William, who succeeded him, Albert, duke of Mubingen, and John, bishop elect of Liege; and four daughters, Joanna of Luxemburg, queen of Bohemia, who died without issue; Catherine, duchess of Guelderland, who likewise died childless; Margaret, married to John, son of the Duke of Burgundy; and another Joanna, wife of the Duke of Austria. He had no issue by his second wife, Margaret of Cleves, who survived him^{*}. Albert appears to have been, on the whole, a mild, just, and pious prince, but remarkably deficient in talent, energy, and decision. He allowed the hook and cod party alternately to obtain the mastery over him, and both to exercise with impunity deeds of violence and injustice^{*}; nor had he sufficient courage and activity to quell in time the sedition of his rebellious subject, the Lord of Arkel, with whom, as we have seen, he was forced to make a discreditable compromise: the people also regarded his authority with so little reverence, that, during the revolt of the Ghenters, they persisted in supplying them with provisions in despite of his

^{*} Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 2.

^{*} Two remarkable instances of his feeble and irresolute character are given by different authors. A certain toll-gatherer, appointed by the count, having practised great extortions in Merkenshoeck, near Dordrecht, was admonished by several letters from Otho, lord of Arkel, to desist: finding his remonstrances of no avail, Otho despatched some of his attendants to seize the offender and put him to death. Immediately after the commission of this act he went to the Hague, followed by a numerous retinue of servants and soldiers, to demand pardon of the count, which was not only granted, but new honours were conferred upon him. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxi., cap. 11.

On another occasion, Albert, instigated by some calumniators, had caused the Lord of Adinghem, a nobleman of Hainault, to be beheaded: his seven brothers, taking up arms to avenge his death, forced Albert to conclude a dishonourable treaty with them, of which one condition was, that he should endow a church with thirteen canons to pray for the soul of the deceased. Suff. Pet., p. 147.

strict prohibition. Under a government so little feared or respected, it may be supposed that all classes of people accustomed themselves to exercise a liberty greater than they had hitherto enjoyed; while his constant necessities enabled the towns to purchase of him many valuable additions to their privileges. The debts which he left unpaid at his death were so heavy that his widow found it advisable to make a "boedelafstandt," or formal renunciation of all claim to his estate. The particulars of this ceremony, not uncommon in the Netherlands*, are thus described: the widow, having chosen a guardian, demanded, through him, permission, before a court composed of the bailiff of the place and four assessors, to renounce the hereditary estate of her husband, according to the law of Rhymland. Permission being given, the body of the count was placed on a bier and brought before the door of the court: the lady, then, dressed in borrowed clothes, and retaining nothing in her possession which she had received from her late husband, went out with a straw in her hand: this she gave to her guardian, who threw it on the bier, renouncing and surrendering in her name the right of dower, and all interest in the estate of the late count, and in all debts due to or from him†.

As William had for a long period before his father's death performed all the more active functions of the government, it might have been supposed that his

* *Politike Regeeringe van den Briel*. Vat. Hist., boek xi., No. 21. Grotius, *Inleydinge tot de Hollandtsche Rechtsgeleerdheyt*, p. 76.

* Shortly before, the widow of Guy de Chatillon had refused in like manner to administer to the effects of her husband. Froissart, vol. xii., chap. 22.

† It was an ancient custom among the Franks to renounce an alliance or service by breaking and throwing a straw. Velly, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii., p. 203.

accession to the title of count would have caused little or no change in the state of affairs ; nevertheless, the animosities between the cod and hook parties, which appeared to have been mitigated for a few years, now revived with increased fury. The cods had regained their ascendancy with the rise of Alice van Poelgeest, and though many of the hook nobles, suspected of a knowledge or participation in her murder, had been included in the reconciliation between William and Albert in 1395, they were never admitted to any share of power. Now, however, by the favour of Count William, they were advanced to offices in the county, and to a participation in the government of the towns ; which the cods being as unwilling to lose as the hooks were eager to obtain, for neither party yielded to the other in cupidity or ambition, their rivalry caused violent commotions in several towns, particularly Delft, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, where a number of the most respectable burghers lost their lives. Dordrecht narrowly escaped a general massacre^b.

Half of the senate of this town is changed on a certain day in every year, the count appointing the new members from a double number, nominated by the great council of forty; but this year, William, fearing lest any change might be the occasion of disturbances, left the same magistrates in office, a proceeding as yet unheard of in the towns. The majority of the members of the senate at that time were of the cod party, and, after this unexpected mark of favour from their count, they began to guide affairs entirely according to their pleasure, and to exercise acts of oppression on the hooks. This excited murmurs of discontent among the people, mostly inclining to the latter, and they took occasion to present frequent petitions for the reforma-

^b Johan. à Leid, lib. xxxi., cap. 64.

tion of abuses, which they alleged to exist; a course of conduct so deeply resented by the cods, that, with a view of keeping the citizens in check, they passed a resolution in the senate, that a fort should be erected within the walls of the town. The burghers, hardly believing they would carry so bold a measure into execution, made no movement, but quietly allowed it to be finished, provided with ammunition, and garrisoned with the adherents of the cod party. Numbers of the people then assembled in arms around the fort, and were no sooner perceived by the cods within, than with a loud shout of "Assault, assault!" they sent a shower of arrows among them. The burghers in return attacked the fort with such vigour, that they forced the cods to evacuate it, and retreat on every side. Many of both parties were killed; but the leaders of the hooks stopped the slaughter upon the retreat of their adversaries, securing only the persons of their chiefs. The Bailiff and Treasurer of South Holland, the Schout of Dordrecht, with two burgomasters, and four sheriffs, were committed to the city gaol, where they remained for some time in considerable danger of being sacrificed to the popular vengeance. On the arrival of Count William to appease the tumult, he testified high disapprobation of these lawless proceedings; but at the same time appointed new magistrates, and gave the senate permission to banish a certain number of persons from Holland. The remainder of the cods effected a reconciliation with the new government early in the following year, and peace was by degrees restored to Dordrecht^c.

The disturbed state of the towns was not the only difficulty with which William had to contend in the

^c Balen Dordrecht, bl. 283 et seq.

first years of his government. The Lord of Arkel, dreading, probably, that he should now be forced to
1405 surrender his accounts, again took up arms, and made himself master of Woudrichem, which he plundered and burnt. But the count having besieged and taken his forts of Gaspen and Everstein, he repaired for assistance to Reynold, duke of Guelderland, whose sister he had married; and, in order to bind him the
1407 more closely to his interests, he surrendered to him his Lordship of Arkel, on condition that it should never be dismembered from the Duchy of Guelderland^d. Arkel shared the usual fate of the feeble who seek the protection of the powerful. After some ineffective hostilities, the Duke of Guelderland and Count of Holland agreed to a truce, which was followed by a treaty of peace, wherein the interests of Arkel were wholly sacrificed. Reynold of Guelderland surrendered Gorinchem and the Lordship of Arkel to the Count of Holland for 100,000 French crowns, on condition that the castle of Ayen, and the Lordship of Born, should
1412 be conferred on William, son of the Lord of Arkel, with a pension of five thousand guilders during his life. This treaty was concluded, as may be supposed, without the intervention or consent of the Lord of Arkel, who was then in Brabant. He was afterwards seized by the Lord of Zevenbergen, and brought prisoner to the Hague: thence he was conducted to Gouda, and finally to Zevenbergen, where he remained in confinement until 1426, when he was released, and died not long after. Of how much disquiet he had been the occasion to William, may be judged from the recompense bestowed on the Lord of Zevenbergen for his capture, amounting to four thousand five hundred

^d Johan. à Leid, lib. xxxii., cap. 8. Suff. Pet., p. 153.

French crowns, as well as considerable sums to those who had assisted him^c.

The Hollanders, under the government of William, entirely lost their footing in Friezland: Staveren only had remained in the actual possession of the count, by the truce made between Albert and the Friezlanders in the year 1400. The truce had since been renewed from time to time, and the last, made in 1412, now drew to a close. The Friezlanders, observing that but negligent watch was kept by the garrison of Staveren, suddenly surprized the city, drove out the Holland troops, and forced them to evacuate the whole province. William, enraged as he might have been at this loss, made no attempt to repossess himself of Staveren; but, on the contrary, concluded a truce with the Friezlanders, who thus at length found themselves free from all foreign dominion; and in the year 1417 they obtained from the Emperor Sigismund a charter, confirming the entire independence of their state^f. William was the less inclined to undertake any expedition into Friezland, as the alliance he had formed between his only daughter, Jacoba, or Jacqueline, and a son of the King of France, involved him in some degree in the cabals of that court.

The insanity of the king, Charles VI., and the weak and vicious character of the queen, Isabella of Bavaria, had rendered the royal authority in France utterly inefficient, giving unrestrained licence to the ambition of the nobles, and leaving the kingdom a prey to the fury of the rival factions, so celebrated in history, of Burgundy and Orleans. It was during the ascendancy of the former that John, duke of Touraine,

^c Heda in Fred., p. 268, 269. Johan. à Leid, lib. xxxii., cap. 16, 22.

^f Ubbo Emmius "*Rerum Frisicarum*," lib. xvii. xviii. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 19.

1406 second son of the King of France, had been betrothed to Jacoba of Holland, niece of the Duke of Burgundy. John had, since that time, resided chiefly with his future father-in-law; but owing to the youth of the parties, the marriage was not completed until 1415, when Jacoba was declared heir to Hainault, Holland, and Friezland; which, after the death of William, were to be governed by the Duke of Touraine, and to descend undivided to the eldest son, or, in default of heirs male, to the eldest daughter, of this marriage. The ancient laws, privileges, and customs of the land were to be preserved unimpaired, and no offices conferred on foreigners^h.

By the death of his elder brother, Louis, without issue, John succeeded, a few months after, to the title of dauphin, and became heir-apparent to the French crown. Immediately upon that event, therefore, ambassadors were despatched to Hainault to invite him to the court of his father; but the state of France was not such as to induce William to risk the safety of the young prince, the husband of his only child, by sending him thither. That country, besides being desolated by civil dissensions, was now engaged in a dangerous and ruinous war with Henry V. of England: nine thousand of her bravest knights lay dead on the field of Agincourt, and the hope of arresting the progress of the conqueror appeared almost chimerical. The Orleans faction had now entire possession of the court, and viewed both William and the young dauphin with dislike and suspicion, on account of their close connection with the Duke of Burgundy. These feelings were still further increased on finding that the deputies

^s Monstrelet, vol. i., chap 27.

^h Villaret Con. de Velly, tom. xii., p. 470. Groot Plakaath., 3 deel, bl. 6.

sent by the duke to Valenciennes, during the stay of the French Ambassadors there, had been admitted to more than one secret conference with the count, while the latter were obliged to content themselves with a public audience. In consideration of these circumstances, William persisted in retaining the dauphin under his own protection.

While matters were thus pending, the Emperor Sigismund arrived at Dordrecht, on his way from the court of Paris to that of London, whither he was accompanied 1416 by the Count of Holland, for the purpose of negotiating in concert a peace between France and England¹. But whether Sigismund had never been sincere in his endeavours to effect a reconciliation, or that, finding it impossible to bring the belligerents to reasonable terms, he thought it best, considering the enfeebled and distracted condition of France, to consult his own interest by siding with the stronger, he abandoned ere long the character of mediator, and concluded with England a treaty of alliance against France. William, disgusted at this selfish policy, abruptly left England, without waiting for the emperor, having succeeded only in effecting a truce between England and France for five months, which was afterwards prolonged².

Repose being thus for a season secured to France from without, William determined to use his endeavours to allay the distractions prevailing within the kingdom. He therefore yielded to the reiterated solicitations of the French ambassadors, and conducted the Dauphin as far as Compeigne, he himself proceeding to Paris to arrange the terms of his reception. After long contestations with the members of the Orleans faction in that court, William declared, for-

¹ Rym. Fœd., tom. ix., p. 362. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 22.

² Rym. Fœd., tom. ix., p. 380. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 22.

mally, that the young prince should either come to court in company with the Duke of Burgundy, or return immediately to Hainault^k. Either his dread of the Orleans party must have been extreme, to make him insist in such a determined manner on the return of the Duke of Burgundy to a court where he was so justly obnoxious*, or he must have entertained for him an esteem and confidence but ill deserved or requited; since John, the most crafty and selfish prince of the age in which he lived, made about this time a secret treaty of alliance with England, wherein the interests of the young dauphin were wholly sacrificed, inasmuch as he acknowledged the right of Henry and his heirs to the kingdom of France, promising to aid him to the
 1416 utmost of his power against his enemies in that country, and declaring null and void any exception before made in favour of the dauphin^l.

The French government, finding William so obstinately resolved upon the subject of the Duke of Burgundy, determined to arrest him; but, having obtained intelligence of their design, he precipitately quitted Paris, attended by only two servants, and retired to Compeigne. On his arrival there, he found, with mingled grief and consternation, that the object
 1417 of all his anxiety and cares lay at the point of death, occasioned, as some say, by the bursting of a tumour in the head^m, but the more general opinion prevailed, that the youth died by poison†. Both the Burgundian

^k Monstrelet, vol. iv., chap. 46, p. 256.

^l Rym. Fœd., tom. ix., p. 395.

^m Monstrelet, vol. i., chap. 46, p. 256.

* From his assassination of the Duke of Orleans (1407), and his open avowal and justification of that crime.

† According to John of Leyden, a magnificent suit of armour was sent him, poisoned, which, with the eagerness of youth, he immediately

and Orleans parties accused each other of this crime, but suspicion chiefly rested on the Duke of Anjou, who both feared and hated the Duke of Burgundy, and whose son-in-law, Charles, duc de Ponthieu, became by this untimely death heir apparent to the crownⁿ.

To William his loss was irreparable. The succession to the county had been settled on his only legitimate child, Jacoba, with the condition that the government was to remain in the hands of her husband. On both the previous occasions, when the county had been left without a male heir, a great proportion of the Hollanders had shown a vehement dislike to submit to the authority of a female; and he, therefore, dreaded lest the claims of his daughter might be set aside in favour of his brother, John, bishop elect of Liege. To guard against any such attempt, he assembled the nobles and towns of Holland, who, at his requisition, solemnly swore to acknowledge Jacoba lawful heir and successor, in case he should die without a son. Most of the principal nobles and the large towns of Holland signed this agreement, as well as the states of Zealand; and William, thinking he had now placed the succession of his daughter on a firm footing, returned to Hainault^o. Here he soon after died, from a swelling in the thigh, which he was persuaded to have lanced, in order to relieve the pain;

ⁿ Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. xv., ad ann. 1417, p. 250. Pont. Heut., lib. iii., cap. 8.

^o Heda in Fred., p. 271, 280. Groot Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 8.

put on, and died a short time after: the historian does not mention from whence it came.—Lib. xxxii., cap. 26. Ægidius de Roya gives a similar account, with the addition that the armour was sent by his mother (Chron. Belg., ad ann. 1417, p. 70); an opinion adopted by Heda, p. 171. Meyer, however, says, that he lived eight days after, which would seem to contradict the suspicion of poison.—P. 250.

but the exhaustion attendant on the operation, combined with grief for the miserable fate of the young dauphin, proved too much for his constitution: he languished only a few days, and died at Bouchain, in May, 1417^p. He was a prince of undoubted courage and conduct in war; and in his domestic government, he appears to have been guilty of no act of injustice or oppression during his whole reign. Such was the opinion generally entertained of his integrity and prudence, that the two hostile and embittered factions of Burgundy and Orleans did not hesitate to choose him as arbiter of their differences, and guarantee for the security of both parties^q: he was, moreover, handsome in person, and “a knight of a gallant and noble bearing, excelling most others of his time in tilting^r.”

It was perhaps a proof of his judgment, that he made no endeavour to reduce Friezland to submission. A vast expense of blood and treasure had already been lavished upon this futile and chimerical project, which, even if successful, would only have added to Holland a number of restless and unprofitable subjects; and he might be well satisfied to have made instead the more useful, though less imposing acquisitions, of the lordship of Arkel*, and the strong town of Ysselstein, surrendered to him by the Lord of Egmond, both of which he permanently united to Holland: the

^p Meyer Ann., lib. xv., ad ann. 1417, p. 250. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 25, 27.

^q Villaret, Con. de Velly, tom. xiii., p. 74.

^r Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iii., cap. 5. Froissart, vol. x., chap. 21, and passim.

* This ancient barony had been granted, it is said, in the early part of the tenth century, to one Heyneman, a Hungarian refugee in the service of Theodore II.—Johan. à Leid., lib. vii., cap. 27.

fortifications of the latter were razed in the beginning of the next reign, after an attempt made by John van Egmond and William van Ysselstein to repossess themselves of their paternal inheritance*. During the reign of William, the herring fishery, a source of such immense national wealth to Holland, began rapidly to increase. In 1414, Jacob Beukelson, of Beervliet, discovered the new and excellent method still in use, of drying and barrelling herrings, and two years after, the first large herring sein was manufactured at Hoorn†.

* Heda in Fred., p. 271. † Velius, Chronyck van Hoorn, boek i., p. 17.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Jacoba. Hostilities of John of Bavaria. Marriage of Jacoba with John of Brabant. Siege of Dordrecht. Loss of Rotterdam and South Holland. Compromise. Renewal of Hostilities. Dissensions between the Countess and her Husband. Jacoba retires to England. Divorce. Marriage with the Duke of Gloucester. Alliance between Burgundy and England. Duke of Gloucester goes to Hainault. Returns to England. Jacoba delivered into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. Her Escape from Confinement. Siege of Schoonhoven. Trait of a Burgher of that Town. Death of John of Bavaria. Duke of Burgundy declared his Heir. Jacoba attacks and defeats her Enemies. Arrival of Reinforcements from England. English defeated near Brouwershaven, and loss of Zealand. Jacoba in North Holland. Retreats to Gouda. Loss of Zevenbergen. Ill condition of Jacoba's affairs. Deserted by the Duke of Gloucester. Surrender of Gouda, and Compromise. Fourth Marriage, and Death of Jacoba.

1417 THE death of William VI. left the government of the county in the hands of his young and widowed daughter, who had barely attained the age of seventeen. Yet, endued with understanding far above her years and a courage uncommon to her sex, joined to the most captivating grace and beauty, the countess had already secured the respect and affection of her subjects, which, after her accession, she neglected no method to retain, by confirming everywhere their ancient charters and privileges; and the Hollanders might have promised themselves long years of tranquillity and happiness under her rule, had it not been for the unprincipled ambition of her paternal uncle, John of Bavaria, surnamed the Ungodly*, bishop elect of Liege^a.

^a Meyer, lib. xv., ad ann. 1417, p. 250.

* "Sine pietate," from his refusal to receive holy orders; others give

He had been chosen to this see many years since; but having constantly refused to receive priest's orders, the burghers of Liege took upon themselves to elect Theodore, son of the Count of Parvis, as their bishop, and forced John to retire to Maestricht. He was afterwards restored to his see, chiefly by the instrumentality of his brother, William of Holland; yet so far forgot the debt of gratitude he owed him, as to endeavour at this time to deprive his only daughter of her inheritance^b. Being resolved to abandon the spiritual condition, and procure himself to be acknowledged Governor of Holland, he repaired to Dordrecht, where he had many partisans, and was proclaimed there, as well as at Briel, in the lordship of Voorne, this estate having been conferred on him by Count William. All the other towns, however, both of Holland and Zealand, and whether espousing the hook or cod party, refused to acknowledge him. Having, therefore, made a league with William van Arkel and John van Egmond, he, with their assistance, possessed himself of Gorinchem. On this commencement of hostilities by her uncle, Jacoba assembled her troops, obtained some auxiliaries from Utrecht and Amersfoort, and placing herself at their head recaptured Gorinchem, where, in a sharp encounter, the followers of John were defeated, and William of Arkel, with more than a thousand men, slain^c. The presence of so formidable an enemy in her states, made it advisable

^b Herman. Cor., Col. ii., p. 1194. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 3, 10.

^c Gheemeene Chron., Divis. xxviii., cap. 6, 7.

him the surname of "pitiless," which it is said he obtained by his cruelties at Liege: but he gave no orders for executions there, except in conjunction with the Duke of Burgundy and Count of Holland. Monstrelet, vol. ii., chap. 3.

that the young countess should marry without delay. Her father had in his will named as her future husband, John, eldest son of Anthony, late duke of Brabant*, and first cousin to Jacoba; and although she showed no inclination to the person of the young prince, the union was so earnestly pressed by her mother and John, duke of Burgundy, her uncle, that, a dispensation having been procured from the pope, the 1418 parties were married at Beervliet early in the following spring^d.

John of Bavaria, to whom this marriage left no pretence for insisting on the regency, saw himself obliged either to resign altogether his claims to the government of Holland, or to adopt decisive measures for obtaining sole possession of it: and as motives of ambition swayed him, far more than those of natural affection, he determined to thrust his niece from the seat of her fathers, and found means to induce the Pope, Martin V., and the Emperor Sigismund, to lend their aid to his project.

Both the pope and emperor were at this time attending the Council of Constance, opened in 1414 for the purpose of reforming the church in its head and in its members, and of terminating the schism of double popes, which had now lasted for thirty-six years. Thither, therefore, John sent a trusty ambassador, to resign his bishopric into the hands of the pope, and to solicit in return a dispensation from holy orders, and liberty to enter the marriage state. Martin

^d Meyer, lib., xv., ad ann. 1417, p. 250. Ghemeene Chron., Divis. xxviii., cap. 7.

* The Duchess Joanna of Brabant had, at the request of Philip I. of Burgundy, settled Brabant on his second son, Anthony; John, the eldest, inheriting Burgundy. Johan. à Leid., lib. xxxii., cap. 5.

consented without hesitation to his wishes, and a matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth of Luxemburg, widow of Anthony, duke of Brabant, and niece to the emperor, gained him the favour and support of Sigismund, who declared the county of Holland and Zeeland a fief reverted in default of heirs male to the empire, with which he invested John of Bavaria, commanding the nobility, towns, and inhabitants in general, to acknowledge allegiance to him, and releasing them from the oaths they had taken to Jacoba and John of Brabant^e.

Upon the strength of the imperial mandate, John of Bavaria assumed the title of count, and was acknowledged at Dordrecht; but notwithstanding that he promised the towns an extension of their privileges, and among the most important, bound himself not to coin money without their advice and consent, he found none inclined to forsake their allegiance to the Countess Jacoba; they declared, on the contrary, that "the county of Holland and Zeeland was no fief of the empire, nor was the succession in anywise restricted to heirs male^f."

So far from supporting the pretensions of John, the towns of Haarlem, Delft, and Leyden, had raised a loan for Jacoba of five hundred and thirty English nobles by the sale of annuities in Hainault; and, uniting their forces with those of the other large towns, laid siege to Dordrecht, the expedition being commanded by the young John of Brabant. His troops were not in sufficient number to carry the town by assault, which was so plentifully stored and victualled,

^e Suff. Pet., p. 156. Ghemeene Chron., divis. xxviii., cap. 7, 8. Rym. Fœd., tom. ix., p. 566.

^f Herm. Cor., Col. ii., p. 1225. Balen Dordrecht, bl. 285. Ghemeene, Chron., divis. xxviii., cap. 9.

that, after a blockade of six weeks, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking from a scarcity of provisions in his own camp^s. Encouraged by this success, John of Bavaria advanced to Rotterdam, the capture of which John of Brabant found himself unable to prevent, and the former, in consequence, became master of a considerable portion of South Holland. John and Jacoba being precluded by this means from receiving
 1419 succours from Brabant, consented to an accommodation under the mediation of Philip, count of Charolois, son of the Duke of Burgundy, the duke himself being at this time fully occupied with the affairs of France and England. By the treaty now made, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Gorinchem, with a considerable portion of South Holland, were surrendered to John of Bavaria, to hold as a fief of the Count and Countess of Holland; in case Jacoba died without issue, John of Bavaria was to be immediately put in possession of the whole of her states. The government, moreover, was to be exercised in common by John of Bavaria and John of Brabant for the next five years. The members of the council of state, and the treasurers of the county, the schouts and sheriffs of the towns, with the bailiffs of the open country, were to be appointed by them jointly; taking the oath, nevertheless, to John of Brabant and Jacoba, who were likewise to enjoy alone the revenues of the counties of Holland and Hainault. John of Bavaria agreed on his side to surrender all right to the county founded upon any imperial or papal grant, in consideration of 100,000 English nobles to be paid in two years^h.

Although this treaty was, it should appear, suffi-

^s Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1232.

^h Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1419, p. 261. Suff. Pet., p. 156. Groot Plakaat., 3 deel., bl. 9.

ciently favourable to John of Bavaria, he did not long adhere to its provisions, for John and Jacoba going to Brabant soon after, he took advantage of their absence to extend his authority in Holland, conferring upon his own adherents, chiefly members of the cod party, all the public offices, without the intervention of either the count or countess. Perceiving the course of conduct pursued by John, Philip van Wassenaar, burgrave of Leyden, and several others of the hook nobles, made a league with the citizens of Utrecht and Amersfoort, at once declared war against him, and took possession of Rhynsburg and other forts belonging to the cods¹. John of Bavaria, upon these unexpected hostilities, repaired to Gouda to assemble his troops, whence he advanced directly to the siege of Leyden, garrisoned by four or five hundred Utrechters in addition to the burgher guards. After a siege of about two months, provisions became scarce within the town; and the besieged, despairing of relief, since John and Jacoba were fully occupied in appeasing some disturbances which had arisen in Brabant, listened to the conditions offered them by John of Bavaria and consented to receive him as governor. Leyden, which until then had belonged to burgraves of its own, as a fief of Holland, was henceforward annexed to the county, under the immediate rule of the sovereign^k.

John, then, with the design of invading Brabant itself, marched to the frontier town of Geertruydenberg, which immediately opened its gates; but the citadel, under the command of Theodore van Merwede, held out for some days, and the delay occasioned by its reduction, though short, lost him the chance of con-

¹ Veldenaar Chronyck van Hol., &c., bl. 118. Suff. Pet., p. 156.

^k Divæus, Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1420. Boxborn, Theat. Urb., p. 100, 101.

quering Brabant. The nobles of that state, dissatisfied with the administration of Duke John, a prince of slow understanding, and addicted to indolent pleasures, summoned his brother Philip, Count de St. Pol from France, and conferred on him the office of governor of the duchy. This gave John of Bavaria a far different antagonist to contend with. Philip, on his arrival, lost no time in collecting a force sufficient to oppose his purposed invasion; and John was able to execute nothing more in Brabant than to surprise and pillage Lillo and Zandvliet¹.

The feeble John of Brabant, at variance both with his brother and his subjects, was reduced to make a treaty with his rival, whereby he ceded to him Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, for the space of twelve years; and this conduct without bettering the condition of his affairs, served but to increase the dislike with which he had for some time been viewed by the Brabanters; nor was this feeling manifested by them alone. The Countess Jacoba had consented to the marriage with the young Duke of Brabant, without the slightest sentiment of affection towards him, yielding her own inclinations on this point to the persuasions of her mother: nor were the circumstances of their union such as subsequently to conciliate her love or esteem. The princess was in her twenty-second year, of a healthy constitution and vigorous intellect, lively, spirited, and courageous; her husband, on the contrary, about two years younger than herself, was feeble alike in body and mind, indolent, and capricious. Through his incapacity, she now saw herself stripped of her fairest possessions, nor did there appear any security for her retaining the rest; he, moreover, maintained an illicit

¹ Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1420, p. 162. Ægidius de Roya, ad ann. 1419, p. 74. Heda, in Fred., p. 273.

connexion with the daughter of a Brabant nobleman; and, with the petty tyranny which little minds are so fond of exercising, he forced her to dismiss all the Holland ladies from her service, and to fill their places with those of Brabant^m. Jacoba, bred up from her infancy in Holland and Hainault, was devotedly attached to her country and people; and this last act of injustice, on the part of her husband, increased the contempt and aversion with which she had long regarded him, to an uncontrollable degree. She secretly quitted the court; and, accompanied by her mother, escaped by way of Calais to England, where she was courteously 1421 received by Henry V., and a hundred pounds a month allotted for her maintenance. In the winter of the same year, she held at the baptismal font the infant son of the king, afterwards Henry VIⁿ.

Jacobæ was now determined at all risks to procure the dissolution of the bonds that had become so odious to her; and Humphry, duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, tempted by her large inheritance, and captivated by her personal charms, eagerly entered into a negotiation with her for a future matrimonial alliance, which had been projected even before her flight from Brabant.

An almost insurmountable difficulty, however, presented itself, in the necessity of procuring a dispensation from the Pope. Martin V. had granted one three years before, against the wishes both of the emperor and John of Bavaria, for her marriage with John of Brabant; and it appeared scarcely reasonable to ask him now to revoke it, when by so doing he must

^m Monstrelet, vol. v., p. 35. Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1420, 1421, p. 162. Divæus Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1421.

ⁿ Monstrelet. vol. v., chap. 50. Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1421, p. 162. Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 67, 129, 134.

offend besides these princes, to whom her alliance with England would naturally be distasteful, the powerful Duke of Burgundy, who, in case Jacoba and John of Bavaria should die without issue, stood next in succession to the county. Despairing, therefore, of success in this quarter, Humphry and Jacoba applied to Benedict XIII., who had been deposed by the Council of Pisa in 1409, and was acknowledged only by the King of Arragon. Benedict, flattered with the recognition of his authority, and pleased with the opportunity of acting in opposition to his rival, readily granted a bull of divorce, which they pretended to have obtained from the legitimate Pope, and which Martin V. afterwards publicly declared to be fictitious^o.

Although such a divorce could not, by any means, 1422 be considered as valid, the marriage between the Duke of Gloucester and the Countess Jacoba was, nevertheless, solemnized in the end of the year 1422, having been somewhat delayed by the death of King Henry V^p. But the advantages accruing from it to either party by no means counterbalanced the discreditable circumstances under which it was contracted. Humphry could not establish himself in the states of his wife, without the assistance of English troops and money; but though he had been named, after the death of his brother, Protector of the kingdom, he found the people little inclined to make any sacrifice of either the one or the other to advance his private interests. They had now, during seven years, been engaged, with little cessation, in wars with France, which, although attended with brilliant successes, and the conquest of nearly the whole kingdom, inevitably proved an im-

^o Monstrelet, vol. ii., chap. 9. Divæus Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1422. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 31.

^p Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1422.

mense drain of men and treasure; while the marriage of Jacoba with the duke gave cause of offence to an important and useful ally of England.

We have before seen, that an alliance was formed by John, duke of Burgundy, with Henry V. against France; subsequently to that treaty, he had reconciled himself with the Queen Isabella; but the dauphin being still devoted to the Orleans or Armagnac party, this event, instead of tending to reunite the two factions, served but to exasperate their animosities, and a series of outrage and massacre, revolting to humanity, was closed by a crime which, though but a just measure of retribution to him who suffered, branded with infamy him who, at an age when youth ought to have been a security for innocence, was persuaded to give his assent and countenance to it. On the faith of a hollow and insidious peace, the Duke of Burgundy consented to an interview with the dauphin on the bridge of Montereau, when he was treacherously assassinated by du Chatel, one of the followers of the latter^a.

The intelligence of this murder naturally roused in the breast of Philip, count of Charolois, his son, a desire of vengeance, which absorbed all principles of feudal allegiance and all considerations of policy. In conjunction with Queen Isabella, whose hatred towards her son was no less bitter than that of Philip himself, he had concluded with Henry V. the treaty of Troyes, 1420 whereby the succession to the crown, after the death of Charles VI., and the present administration of the kingdom, was conferred on Henry, on his marriage with Catherine, daughter of the King of France: for himself, he stipulated only, that Henry should assist in

^a Monstrelet passim et tom. v., p. 121.

bringing to justice the dauphin and the other murderers of his father^r.

Philip used no less zeal in contributing to carry this treaty into effect, than he had shown in framing it; and from that time had continued firmly attached to the interests of England. But the proximity of his claims to the county of Holland rendered the marriage of the English duke with the countess, in the highest degree, distasteful to him. She had no children by the Duke of Brabant, nor did it appear probable that she ever would; but her union with Humphry might prove more fruitful, and the birth of a child effectually bar Philip from the succession. He therefore com-
 1422 plained of this step as of an affront offered to himself, to the Duke of Bedford, elder brother of Gloucester, and regent of France, who promised for his brother, that he should submit the question of the legality of his marriage to the decision of the Pope.

He found Humphry, however, determined to resign, on no consideration, either his wife or his claim to her
 1424 states; but having obtained for her an act of naturalization from the English parliament, together with subsidies of troops and money, he set out for Hainault, where, Philip of Burgundy and John of Brabant being unprepared for resistance, the towns universally opened their gates to him^s.

But a very short time elapsed before the Count de St. Pol assembled an army of Burgundians and Brabanters, who made themselves masters of Braine le Comte, where they put the English garrison to the sword. Little else occurred during the campaign, except mutual defiances between the Dukes of Bur-

^r Rym. Fœd., tom. ix., p. 825—840.

^s Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 24, 25. Parl. Hist., tom. i., p. 350. Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 311. Divæus Rer. Brab., ad ann. 1424.

gundy and Gloucester; and Humphry accepting the challenge of the former to single combat, in the presence of the Duke of Bedford, returned to England under pretext of making the necessary preparations, but in reality, probably, from a conviction that he should not be able long to withstand the power of Burgundy. He left the countess in Mons, which, shortly after his departure, was threatened with a siege. Jacoba wrote a letter, couched in the most moving terms, to solicit succours from her husband, which, unhappily, never reached him, being intercepted by the Duke of Burgundy*: she was delivered by the citizens of Mons into the hands of the Duke's deputies, and conducted to Ghent, to be detained there until the Pope should decide the question of her marriage†.

After remaining some little time in confinement, Jacoba escaped, in male disguise, to Antwerp, and resuming the attire of her sex, proceeded thence to Woudrichem, which opened its gates to her, as well as Oudewater, Gouda, and Schoonhoven^u. The citadel of the latter resisted for some days the army which the hook nobles assembled to besiege it, but was ultimately forced to surrender on conditions. Their lives and estates were granted to all the defenders except one, named Arnold Beiling, the cause of whose reservation is not known. His conduct on the occasion proved that the high principle of honour, and undaunted courage, which we are accustomed to attribute peculiarly to the knightly and the noble, animated no less strongly the

* Meyer, ad ann. 1424, p. 268. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 2. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 26—30, 32.

^u Divans Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1424. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 36.

* Vide Note G at the end of the volume.

breast of a simple Dutch burgher. He was condemned to be buried alive, but besought a respite of one month to arrange his affairs, and take leave of his friends: it was granted upon his word of honour alone, and he was permitted to depart without further security. He returned punctually at the time appointed, and the sentence was executed a short distance without the walls of the town. The confidence with which this singular request was granted, showing, as it does, the habitual reliance placed on the good faith of the Hollanders, is only less admirable than the courageous integrity with which the promise was fulfilled^v.

1425 The death of John the Ungodly, by poison, administered, as some say, at the instigation of the countess-dowager, others, by his steward, a knight of the hook party, some months after the return of Jacoba to Holland, although it delivered her from an inveterate and powerful enemy, did not contribute to retrieve her fortunes. He had named Philip of Burgundy his heir in case he should die without issue, and that ambitious prince now took advantage of the event to obtain from John of Brabant the title of governor and heir to the county of Holland; John himself retaining the name of Count, and being acknowledged as such by all the towns which had held to the party of John of Bavaria^w. The Duke of Brabant confirmed the privileges of the nation, engaging that no offices should be given to strangers, and that no money should be coined without the consent of the council and the towns. He declared also, that no exiles of the hook party should be permitted to return to their country without permission

^v Boxhorn in Schoonhoven Theat. Urb., p. 299.

^w Tritenhemii Chron., ad ann. 1425. Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. xvi., ad ann. 1424, p. 268. Suff. Pet., p. 157. Ægid. de Roy., ad ann. 1424. Boxhorn op Reigersberg, 2 deel., bl. 197.

from himself and his council^x. From this time he does not appear to have concerned himself in any way with the government of the county. He returned immediately after to Brabant, when Philip came into Holland, where he was acknowledged governor by the greater portion of the towns^y.

The Countess Jacoba remained meanwhile at Gouda, where hearing that some towns of the cod party, principally Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam had united their forces to besiege her, she obtained assistance from the Utrechters, who had always remained faithful to her cause, and advanced at the head of her troops to meet her enemies near Alpen, where she gained a considerable victory over them^z. This success was followed by the welcome news, that an English fleet had been equipped for her service by the Duke of 1426 Gloucester, bringing five hundred choice land troops. It arrived, in effect, early in the next year at Schouwen, under the command of the Earl Fitzwalter, whom he had appointed his stadtholder over Holland and Zealand. Philip, being then at Leyden, assembled an army of 4000 men, and sailed from Rotterdam to Brouwershaven, where the English, joined with the Zealanders of the hook party, were encamped. Immediately on the landing of the cods the troops came to a severe engagement, which lasted the whole day, and terminated to the disadvantage of the English and hooks; 1400 of the former, and some of the principal nobles of Zealand were slain; Fitzwalter himself being forced to seek safety by flight^a.

This unfortunate encounter lost Jacoba the whole

^x Groot Plakaatb., deel. iii., bl. 13.

^y Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1425, p. 73.

^z Herm. Corn. Col., tom. ii., p. 1265.

^a Divæus Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1426. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 2.

of Zealand: nevertheless, she did not yield to despair, but taking advantage of the absence of Duke Philip from Holland, she engaged the men of Alkmaar, with the Kemmerlanders and West Friezlanders, to lay siege to Haarlem; this undertaking also was unsuccessful; but the Kemmerlanders made themselves masters of Enkhuyzen, Monnikendam, and several forts belonging to the cod party^b; they attempted likewise to gain possession of Hoorn, but found this city determined to defend itself with the utmost vigour. The animosity entertained by the burghers against Jacoba arose from a circumstance which affords but too strong evidence of the disregard into which, during this turbulent period, the numerous laws made to provide for the security of the subject had fallen. A young man, named John Lambertson, the son of Lambert Kuyf, burgomaster of Hoorn, happening to see the countess at Gouda, incautiously observed, that "it was a shame that so noble and lovely a lady should be dragged hither and thither like a common woman." This remark being repeated to Jacoba, the youth was seized, tried, and condemned to death by the supreme court of Holland. The unhappy father pleaded, in the most moving terms and with the offer of a large sum, for the life of his only son. He failed in obtaining a remission of the sentence; but hopes were given him, that at the last hour, on the scaffold, a mandate would arrive from the Lady Jacoba to stay the execution. They proved delusive, and the sufferer was beheaded on the day appointed. The deep resentment which an act of such lawless cruelty excited in the breast of the father was shared by all the members of the government, who came to an unanimous

^b Meyer Ann. Fland., lib. xvi., ad ann. 1426, p. 271. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 38.

resolution never, in any case, to acknowledge Jacoba as countess^c*. The burghers, therefore, fortified their town, which as yet lay open, with astonishing rapidity, Lambert Kuyf applying to this purpose the whole of the money which he had offered for his son's ransom, and sent to demand assistance from Duke Philip against the Kemmerlanders. On the arrival of three hundred Picardins, under the command of Villiers de Lisle Adam, they attacked the besiegers in the suburbs of Hoorn, defeated, and put them to flight. The loss of this battle and the advance of Philip in person did not permit Jacoba to continue any longer in North Holland. She therefore retreated once more to Gouda, when all the towns in that quarter opened their gates to Philip. The hooks, exasperated at their defeat before Hoorn, vented their rage upon the town of Enkhuyzen; having collected a few vessels, they surprised it as the burghers were engaged in their midday meal, seized more than a hundred of the principal persons and beheaded them. Under pretext of securing them from similar assaults in future, Philip placed foreign garrisons in the greater number of the towns, and erected a citadel at Hoorn^d. The filling the town with foreign soldiers, an act unprecedented in the history of the country, was the first of those violent and unpopular measures pursued by Philip and his successors, which, in the next century, lost them so rich and fair a portion of their dominions: It was followed

^c Velius Hoorn, boek i., p. 23.

^d Velius Hoorn, boek i., p. 23, 27, 28. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 38, pp. 176, 177.

* Slander ("Lastering"), under which denomination this offence would come, was punishable by fine only; and, consequently, not being capital, was within the jurisdiction of the "vierschaar," or municipal court, and did not belong to that of the supreme court of Holland. Grotius Inleydinge, &c., boek iii., deel 36.

by others no less inimical to the ancient customs and privileges of the people; the Kemmerlanders were punished for the support they had given to their lawful sovereign, by the forfeiture of their charters and immunities; they were forbidden to assemble together for any cause, and to use any other arms than common knives without points; the towns and villages which had adhered to Jacoba were condemned to pay a fine of 123,300 crowns within six months, and to be subject to a perpetual tax of four groots (halfpence) for every hearth. Alkmaar was to furnish 8000 crowns as its portion of the fine, to be deprived of its municipal government, and the citadel and walls to be razed to the ground^c. The suspension of their privileges had before been inflicted on the Kemmerlanders by Count William III., in 1324, and it appears that the counts claimed the power of imposing this penalty on any sufficient cause of offence^f; but that of fixing a permanent impost upon the inhabitants in general, or destroying the walls of the towns, had, on no occasion, been exercised by any of their sovereigns, and formed a precedent equally new and dangerous; the disarming them, too, was a mode of vengeance peculiarly offensive to a brave and spirited people, who were, moreover, bound by their laws to hold themselves in readiness for the defence of the country. Even those towns which had been friendly to Philip, were obliged to contribute heavy "petitions" for the payment of his troops^g.

After the reduction of North Holland the Duke of Burgundy advanced to the siege of Zevenbergen, the frontier town of South Holland, on the side of Brabant. It was defended, during a considerable time, by the

^c Handvesten van Kemmerland, bl. lviii., lix.

^f Will. Proc., ad ann. 1326.

^g Velius Hoorn., p. 27.

valour of Gerard von Stryen, its commander, but was at length forced to surrender; and the Countess Jacoba 1427 found herself reduced to the possession only of Gouda, Schoonhoven, Oudewater, and Montfort^b. Her affairs were now in a desperate condition. The Pope had not only declared her marriage with the Duke of Brabant valid, but prohibited the contraction of any future marriage between her and the Duke of Gloucester, even after the death of John of Brabant, whose health and strength were rapidly decayingⁱ. This event*, which occurred within a short time from the issuing of the papal bull, and the intelligence that the English parliament had granted 20,000 marks expressly for her relief, inspired Jacoba with hopes, nevertheless, that Gloucester would lend effective aid towards reinstating her in possession of her inheritance; and emboldened her to appeal to a general council of the Church against the decree of the Pope^k. But the Duke of Bedford having concluded a truce for his brother with the Duke of Burgundy, forbade him to go to Holland, and Humphry himself showed no inclination to second the efforts of the countess. In spite of her remonstrances, and of the reproaches of his own countrywomen†, he forsook his noble and

^b Schryver's Graaven, 2 deel, bl. 359. Herm. Corn., col. ii., p. 1275. Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1426.

ⁱ Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 41.

^k Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1426, p. 271. Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 375. Groot Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 14.

* This prince, although from his deficiency in talent he appears in so contemptible a light, is said by historians to have been just, pious, and benevolent. His name is honourable to posterity as the founder of the university of Louvain in 1426.

† Stowe tells us that, "One Mrs. Stokes, with divers other stout women of London of good account and well apparelled, came openly to the Upper House of Parliament, and delivered letters to the Duke of Gloucester, to the archbishops, and other lords there present, containing

highborn bride for the charms of Eleanor Cobham, whom he now married, after her having lived with him some years as his mistress. Jacoba, conscious of possessing, besides her princely birth and rich estates, all the alluring attractions of her sex, was struck to the heart by this cruel and unlooked for desertion. She remained shut up and inactive at Gouda, where she spent many long dreary months in constant expectation of a siege. It was delayed in consequence of the absence of the Duke of Burgundy in Flanders. At length, on his arrival before the walls, Jacoba and the hook nobles, seeing no chance of defending themselves against a force so superior to their own, offered terms of compromise to the duke, to which he readily listened, being indeed so favourable, that he could hardly desire more, even after the possession of Gouda¹.

By this treaty, Jacoba was to desist from her appeal to a council of the Church against the decree of the Pope; to surrender her states to the administration of Philip as heir and governor, but retain the title of countess, with an engagement not to contract another marriage without the consent of the duke, of her mother, and of the three estates*; in which case, she was to resign, in favour of Philip, her claim to the allegiance of her subjects. The government of Holland, in the duke's absence, was to be entrusted to

¹ Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1428, p. 272. Divæus, Rer. Brab., lib. xviii., ad ann. 1428.

matters of rebuke and sharp reprehension to the said duke, because he would not deliver his wife Jaqueline out of her grievous imprisonment, and suffering her there to remain unkindly, whilst he kept another adulteress, contrary to the law of God and to the honourable estate of matrimony."—Parl. Hist., vol. i., p. 349.

* In Hainault, Zealand, and Friezland, the clergy formed a separate estate.

nine councillors, of whom the countess should name three, and the duke the six others, three natives, and three from other parts of his dominions. (It had been an express stipulation in the marriage articles of Jacoba with the Duke of Touraine, that no foreigners were to be admitted to offices within the county.) The duke was to have the sole nomination of all the higher offices, both in the towns and open country. The future revenues of the county, after the subtraction of salaries to public officers, and other necessary expences, were to be paid to the countess. (We shall see, hereafter, that under one or other of these pretences, Philip reduced the income thus provided for her, to a 1428 very insufficient sum.) The exiles on both sides were to be permitted to return to their country, and no one, under a penalty, should reproach another with the party names of hook and cod.

The Duke of Guelderland, and the Bishop of Utrecht, should be at liberty, if they so desired, to accede to the treaty, from which, all such as were concerned in the death of John of Bavaria were excluded^m. Jacoba was obliged to go through the towns of Holland with the duke, and cause the oaths to be taken to him as heir and governor; and thus deprived of all authority in the government, she retired to Goes in South Bevelandⁿ. The new council of nine was forthwith appointed, with power to nominate and remove bailiffs, schouts, treasurers, and other officers in the duke's name, and to audit the public accounts. As six of the members of this council were named by the duke, and the whole held their offices only during his pleasure, it is evident that the interests of the Lady

^m Groot. Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 14; deel. iv., bl. 2.

ⁿ Ghemeene Chronyck, divis. xxviii., cap. 39. Monstrelet, vol. vi., chap. 49, 50.

Jacoba could have been very little cared for. The council had, however, no authority over her revenues, or the granting and withholding of privileges. Having effected this compromise, Philip appointed Francis van Borselen, a Zealand nobleman, his stadtholder over Holland and Zealand, and returned to Flanders^o. After the loss of her states, the Countess Jacoba lived in comparative retirement at Goes and the Hague; but she soon found that, having neither offices, wealth, nor titles to bestow, her most devoted adherents began to desert her. Her revenues, after payment of the salaries of the public officers, barely sufficed for her support, and on the occasion of any extraordinary expense, she was obliged to have recourse for assistance to her friends of the hook party; but as they had neither advantages, nor even payment to expect in return, they soon became weary of such unprofitable generosity. One friend, and one alone, was left to her in this time of need. Francis van Borselen, although a conspicuous member of the cod party, and appointed by Philip stadtholder of Holland, was ever ready to assist her with his purse and counsel, though at the risk of alienating his friends, and even of losing his valuable offices. The gratitude and esteem which such conduct naturally excited in the breast of the forsaken princess, soon deepened into feelings of the tenderest attachment; and under their impulse, she consented to a secret marriage with Borselen, though she well knew the penalty which must attach to a discovery^p. This event was soon known to Philip, who had too many of his partizans around her, to admit of its remaining long concealed; nor did he delay to make use of it as a

^o Ghemeene Chronyck, div. xxviii., cap. 40.

^p Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. ix., p. 140. Herm. Cor., col. ii., p. 1332. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 5.

means of depriving Jacoba of her title of countess, all that now remained of her birthright.

His first measure was to cause Francis van Borselen to be arrested at the Hague, and conducted prisoner to Ruppelmonde; after which, he allowed a report to go abroad, that the unfortunate nobleman was to be released only by death; judging, with good reason, that the desire to save a husband so beloved, would reduce the countess to such terms of submission as he should dictate^a. The issue justified his expectations. By the terms of the treaty of 1428, it had been provided, that if Jacoba should marry without consent of the duke, her mother, and the states, she should forfeit the allegiance of her subjects. To this article she now consented without hesitation; and upon condition ¹⁴³³ that the duke should release Francis van Borselen and confirm their marriage, she renounced all right and title to the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Hainault, reserving only a life interest in the baronies of Voorne, South Beveland, and Thoolen, with the tolls of Holland and Zealand: in the event of the duke dying before her, the county was to revert to herself and her heirs. Philip afterwards created Borselen count of Oostervant, and appointed him forester of Holland, but deprived him of the office of stadtholder^r. Such was the end of the troubled and ¹⁴³⁴ disastrous reign of the Countess Jacoba. There are many points in the character and story of this lovely and unhappy lady, which strongly remind us of the still more unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots: her personal beauty, captivating manners, masculine courage, and

^a Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. ix., p. 140. Meyer Ann. Fland., ad ann. 1433, p. 280, 281.

^r Ghemeene Chronyck, divis. xxviii., cap. 40. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 5.

extraordinary talent; her early marriage to the heir of the French crown, with the disappointment of her high hopes, caused by his premature death; the disgust and misery attendant on her second union; and her final subjection to the power of an artful and ambitious rival. But, innocent of the crimes or indiscretions of Mary, she escaped also her violent and cruel death; and we may be tempted to believe, that the period which she passed in obscurity, united, for the first time, by the ties of affection, to an object every way worthy of her love and esteem, was the happiest of her life. If so, however, her felicity was but of short duration, 1436 since she died of consumption about two years after her abdication, at the age of thirty-six^a. The last marriage, as well as the other three, having proved childless, the county became permanently united to the already vast possessions of the Duke of Burgundy.

In the year 1421, a dreadful and destructive flood happened in Holland, overwhelming seventy-two villages between Dordrecht and Geertruydenberg, twenty of which were never recovered: the loss of life and property was immense, many noble families being reduced almost to beggary. By this inundation, the Biesbosch was formed, and the town of Dordrecht separated from the main land of Holland^b.

^a Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. ix., p. 140, 141.

^b Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1421, p. 264. Heda in Fred., 274. Boxhorn in Dord., p. 109, 117.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Philip becomes Sovereign of the greater portion of the Netherland States. Institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Effects of Philip's Government on Holland. War with England. Its unpopularity. Truce. War with the Hanse Towns. Truce. Renewal of party dissensions in Holland. Riots at Haarlem. At Leyden, Philip comes in person to effect the pacification of Holland. Reform of the Church. Revolt of Ghent. Charles, Count of Charolois. Affairs of Utrecht. David of Burgundy made Bishop. Attempt to regain Friezland. Discontents between Philip and the King of France. Death of the King of France. Accession of Louis XI. Intrigues of the Count of Charolois against him. War; and Treaty of Conflans. Charles attacks Liege and Dinant. Changes made by him in Holland. Death of Philip. His love of Peace. Prodigality of his Court.

UPON the surrender of Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Hainault by Jacoba, Philip became possessed of the most considerable states of the Netherlands. John, duke of Burgundy, his father, had succeeded to Flanders and Artois, in right of his mother Margaret, sole heiress of Louis van der Male, count of Flanders. In the year 1429, Philip entered into possession of the county of Namur, by the death of Theodore, its last native prince without issue, of whom he had purchased it during his lifetime for 132,000 crowns of gold^a. To Namur was added in the next year the neighbouring duchy of Brabant, by the death of Philip (brother of John, who married Jacoba of Holland,) without issue; although Margaret, countess-dowager of Holland, aunt

^a Miræi Dip., tom. iv., p. 611, 614. Pont. Heut., Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 3.

of the late duke, stood the next in succession, since the right extended to females, Philip prevailed with the states of Brabant to confer on him, as the true heir, that duchy and Limburg, to which the margraviate of Antwerp and the lordship of Mechlin were annexed^b.

As he equalled many of the sovereigns of Europe in the extent, and excelled all of them in the riches, of his dominions, so he now began to rival them in the splendour and dignity of his court. On the occasion of his marriage with Elizabeth, or Isabella, daughter of John, king of Portugal, celebrated at Bruges in January 1430, he instituted the famous Order of the Golden Fleece, "to preserve the ancient religion, and to extend and defend the boundaries of the state^c." The insignia of the order were a golden fleece, hanging to a collar likewise of gold, and carved with the duke's symbol of the steel and flint striking fire, and also two laurel boughs placed crosswise^{*}; the motto of the order was "Pretium non vile laborum." The long robe worn by the knights at their chapter, was made at first of purple woollen cloth, but exchanged by Charles, the son of Philip, in 1478, for one less appropriate of silken velvet. The number of knights, at the time of their institution, was twenty-four, besides the duke himself as president, and was subsequently increased by the Emperor Charles V. to fifty-one. The first chapter of the order was not held until November 1431, at the church of St. Peter in Ryssel, when the festival continued three days^d.

^b Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 4.

^c Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., cap. 110, p. 230.

^d Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 3. Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1429—1431, p. 274, 275. Miræi Dipl. Belg., tom. i., cap. 114, p. 235.

^{*} The latter device had been assumed by Duke John the Bold, with the motto "Flammescet uterque."

The accession of a powerful and ambitious prince to the government of the county, was anything but a source of advantage to the Dutch, excepting, perhaps, in a commercial point of view. Its effects were soon perceived in the declaration made by the council of Holland, that the charters and privileges, acknowledged by the duke as governor and heir, were of none effect, unless afterwards confirmed by him as count. Nor was the diminution of their civil liberties the only evil which foreign dominion brought upon them. They found likewise, that their political welfare, or national attachments, were of no weight compared with the personal interests of their sovereign, or even with the gratification of his passions; and that for purposes subservient to either, they were forced to take part in a war against an ally, with whom they had not only not the slightest cause of quarrel, but to whom they were attached, as well by the ties of interest, as those of habit and inclination. The last nation in Europe with which Holland would voluntarily wage war was perhaps England, and yet it was against her that she was now called upon to lavish her blood and treasure in an unprofitable contest. We will therefore examine briefly the causes of the different relation in which this nation and Burgundy, at present stood towards each other, to what they had formerly done.

The zeal of Philip for the English alliance had received its first check by the marriage of Jacoba with the Duke of Gloucester; but the ready acquiescence of Humphry in the decision of the Pope, and his abandonment of his wife, had softened his resentment; and immediately after his compromise with the countess in 1428, he obtained for Holland and Zealand, a restoration of the commerce with England, which had been somewhat interrupted, during the previous contests for

the county°. In the same year, however, the refusal of the Duke of Bedford to allow the city of Orleans, then besieged by the English to be sequestered to the Duke of Burgundy, on the proposal made by deputies from Orleans to that effect, renewed his feelings of dissatisfaction. Until this time the tide of success had flown uniformly in favour of the English; but the raising of the siege of Orleans, and the subsequent achievements of the renowned Joan d'Arc, with the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, changed the face of affairs, and rendered Philip less sanguine of the advantages to be reaped from the connection with England; added to these causes of estrangement, was the death of his sister Anne, duchess of Bedford, and the subsequent marriage of the duke to his vassal, Jaqueline of Luxemburg, eldest daughter of the Comte de St. Pol, without his consent or knowledge^f.

On the rejection, therefore, of the terms offered by France at the conferences held at Arras, with a view to the conclusion of a peace, the duke pursued that course, (though not without affecting great hesitation,) 1435 to which he had long been secretly inclined; and concluded a separate treaty with Charles VII., in which the latter, pleading his youth and ignorance as an excuse for his connivance in the murder of Duke John, professed his detestation of the crime, and that he would use every means to bring the perpetrators to justice^g.

Before Philip took the oaths to observe this peace, Pope Eugene IV. despatched from the Council of Basle two cardinals to release him from his engagements to Henry of England, although he had declared

° Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 403.

^f Snou, Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 147. Monstrelet, vol. vii., chap. 37, 39.

^g Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. i., p. 3. Monstrelet, vol. vii., chap. 68, 87, 88.

to the latter not long before, that he never would grant the Duke of Burgundy any such dispensation^b.

The English had so little suspicion of the intention of the duke, that he had been named one of the delegates to treat of peace on the part of England; and accordingly, their indignation at this treachery, as they termed it, knew no bounds. The populace of London, venting their rage indiscriminately on all the subjects of the Duke of Burgundy, spared not, in the general pillage, even the houses of the Holland and Zealand merchants then residing in England, several of whom they seized and murdered. Notwithstanding the outrages committed on this occasion, the regency of England had sufficient confidence in the favourable dispositions of Holland and Zealand, to request the inhabitants, by letters addressed to the principal towns, to take no part in the war which the Duke of Burgundy designed against the nationⁱ.

They were disappointed, however, in the success of these applications; for whatever the secret wishes of the Hollanders and Zealanders, they were too good subjects to treat with a foreign power, without the knowledge of their sovereign, to whom they immediately sent the letters from England; and this occurrence served but to strengthen the determination that the duke had already formed of declaring war against England, which he did in the following year. He 1436 opened the campaign with the siege of Calais, which the cowardice or disaffection of his Flemish troops, and the backwardness of the Hollanders in bringing a fleet to his assistance, soon forced him to raise^k.

^b Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 613.

ⁱ Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 611, 637, 646, 652. Monstrelet, vol. vii., chap. 92, 96. Pont. Heut., lib. vi., cap. 6

^k Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 148. Monstrelet, vol. vii., chap. 97, 106, p. 365, 377.

Meanwhile, on the appearance of an English fleet in the Zwin, Hugh de Lannoy, stadtholder, in the room of Francis van Borselen, and the council of Holland, had ordered a general levy of troops, both there and in Zealand; but as it was soon ascertained that the English ships had not only avoided offering any hostility to Zealand, but had even supplied themselves with provisions from thence, the Hollanders declared it useless to advance to the assistance of that province, unless it were attacked; nor would the towns of Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, and Amsterdam, permit their deputies to attend the summons of the stadtholder to Zierikzee, to consider of means for its defence. While the Hollanders thus manifested their unwillingness to take part in this unpopular war, the seditious state of the Flemish towns, caused by the imposition of a tax on salt, rendered Philip unable to prevent the ravages of the Duke of Gloucester's army, which, marching from Calais, overran Flanders and Hainault.

1437 The same cause embarrassed all his future operations against the English, and he was at length forced by his rebellious subjects to supplicate the King of England, through his wife, Isabella of Portugal, for the re-establishment of the commerce between the English and the Dutch and Flemings¹. This requisition being granted, was followed by negotiations for a truce, which, prolonged until the year 1443, were at length concluded, and the peace agreed upon, until either party should think proper to renounce it, when he should give three months' notice of his intention^m. During the war between Burgundy and England, the Hollanders were engaged in hostilities more imme-

¹ *Ægid. de Roya*, ad ann. 1435, p. 78. *Monstrelet*, vol. vii., chap. 108, 109. *Rym Fœd.*, tom. x., p. 713, 714, 733.

^m *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. x., p. 769; tom. xi., p. 25, 67.

diately on their own account with the Easterlings, or Hanse Towns of the Baltic, who had plundered some of their ships, and refused, although repeatedly urged, to make any restitution. During the conferences held on the subject, the Holland and Zealand ships sailed to the Baltic in quest of corn as usual; but on their return, they were attacked by the vessels of the Hanse towns, the whole of the cargoes seized, and the crews taken prisoners. The Baltic fleet had been awaited with eager expectation in Holland, on account of the general failure of the crops, and its loss caused a severe famine through the country; the rye loaf now rose to half a guilder (10*d.*), and the poorer classes were forced to use rape, hempseed, and beans, as substitutes for corn^a. Some approaches towards an accommodation were made by the Duke of Burgundy, which proving fruitless, it was resolved to equip for war all the 1438 vessels, both large and small, then in Holland and Zealand, and to build without delay eighty "baards" (a species of large men-of-war), which were to be supplied by the different towns, in the proportion of from one to four each, according to their capability, or their interest in the issue of the contest^o.

These ships were soon ready to put to sea, when several sharp engagements were fought with the fleet of the Hanse Towns, in which the Dutch generally had the advantage, though without any decisive event, until the spring of 1440, when the former, on its return from the Bay of Biscay, laden with salt, fell in with the Dutch vessels; after a vain attempt to escape, the whole of the fleet was captured with little resistance, when the victors, sparing the lives of their prisoners, set them ashore without ransom, bringing the

^a Velius Hoorn, bl. 32.

^o De Riemer's Graavenhage, ii. deel., bl. 409.

ships and valuable cargoes into the ports of Holland and Zealand. This heavy loss inclined the Hanse Towns towards a peace, which the Dutch, loth to continue a war so injurious to their trade, no less desired.

1441 A truce was therefore concluded with the towns of Lubeck, Hamburgh, Rostok, Stralsund, Wismar, and Lunenburg, for twelve years, within which period their differences were to be adjusted by five towns chosen by each party. This truce being renewed from time to time, had all the beneficial effects of a regular and stable peace^p.

The cessation of foreign wars was, ere long, followed by the renewal of those intestine commotions which had now for so protracted a period been the bane of Holland. Although actual hostilities had ceased between the hook and cod parties with the overthrow of Jacoba, neither the article of the treaty between her and the duke, directing that no one should reproach another with these names, nor the subsequent efforts of the latter, had been able to extinguish their animosity^q. Philip, indeed, himself attached to the cods, regularly appointed stadtholders of that party; and as they, in the continued absence of the sovereign, possessed in a manner the supreme power of the county, the principal offices of the state were constantly filled by their adherents. William de Lalaing, however, who succeeded Lannoy in 1440, having married Yolande, daughter of Reynold van Brederode, the head of the hook nobles, began to incline more and more to their faction, and from that time they enjoyed a considerable share in the administration of affairs.

1443 The envy and spleen excited by this change in the breasts of the cod nobles, failed not to aggravate to

^p Velius Hoorn, bl. 33—35.

^q Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 9.

the utmost the discontents which existed, not without reason, among the people in general. A severe winter, followed by a wet and cold summer, in the year 1443, raised the price of provisions to an excessive height; while an extraordinary ten years' "petition," which had been granted to the duke, proved at such a time an unusually heavy burden on the working classes. Notwithstanding this, another subsidy was soon after demanded of the towns in the assembly of the states; 1444 but the deputies declaring that they were not empowered to consent to any new demand, offered the duke a loan from their private purses. This generous proposal did not, however, remove the fears of the people that fresh taxes would still be added, and it was industriously circulated by the cods, that the present distresses had arisen from the mal-administration of the hook party.

In consequence of these injurious rumours, the populace in many of the towns which were favourable to the cods broke out into sedition. In Haarlem, the cods having gained possession of the town bell, caused it to be rung, at which signal the whole of their party assembled in arms in the market-place; the hooks hereupon likewise took up arms, and stationed themselves in battle array opposite their adversaries; thus they stood for the space of two days, during the whole of which time a priest walked up and down between the ranks, carrying the host, and thus prevented a blow being struck on either side. A heavy storm of hail at length forced them to retreat; the hooks first, under the conduct of Nicholas van Adrichem, the burgomaster, who fortified himself in his house, where he was afterwards besieged by his own brother, Simon van Adrichem, at the head of the guild of butchers.

^r Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 149. Velius Hoorn, bl. 35.

The houses of the other hooks, who had followed his example, were vigorously assaulted^s.

Matters were in this condition when Philip despatched his wife Isabella, in the quality of governess of the county, to appease the tumults. She approached Haarlem, in company with the stadtholder Lalaing; but the latter, receiving information at Hillegom that the Haarlemmers designed to put him to death if he entered their city, immediately returned to the Hague. Isabella finding, on her arrival at Haarlem, that the inhabitants hesitated to deliver the keys of the town, forbade all communication with them, and threatened to confiscate the estates of all such as did not evacuate Haarlem within four days. This menace procured her admission within the walls, where she induced the hooks to withdraw, under a secret promise that she would bring them back in a short time. They accompanied her to Amsterdam, from which city the cods had been expelled, where they eventually remained, since Isabella subsequently found herself unable to fulfil her promise of re-establishing them in Haarlem^t. On her return to Bruges, she found Philip dissatisfied that the hooks should have been allowed to remain in the sole possession of Amsterdam, and attributing the disturbances that had arisen to the conduct of William Lalaing, the stadtholder, the duke deprived him of his office, and placed the government
1445 in the hands of Godwin de Wilde, a Fleming, under the title of president^u. It does not appear that the Hollanders made any remonstrance against this appointment, any more than that of the former stadtholders, Lannoy and Lalaing, both of whom were foreigners.

^s Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 149.

^t Pont. Heut., lib. iv. cap. 9. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 149.

^u Goudsche Chron., bl. 131. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 150.

The new governor had scarcely assumed the duties of his office, when the two parties excited violent commotions in the town of Leyden. The immediate cause of the uproar was the substitution, by Duke Philip, of one Simon Frederickson, as schout of the city, in the place of Florence van Boshuyzen, an adherent of the hook party. Boshuyzen called in question the legality of this appointment, and the hooks refused to acknowledge the new schout, who, on the other hand, was supported by the whole power of the cods. At length the leaders of each party summoned the burghers to arms, when the streets and bridges of the city became a scene of violence and bloodshed: the cods, assisted by some forces sent from Delft and the Hague by the command of the President de Wilde, overpowered their adversaries, some of whom were slain, numbers wounded, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners. Three of them were tried and beheaded at the Hague, but at the intercession of Francis van Borselen, the lives of the remainder were spared, and they were released upon payment of a heavy ransom; so beneficially did this humane and generous nobleman exert the influence which he had constantly maintained at court since the death of the Countess Jacoba. The defeat and dispersion of the hook party restored peace to Leyden, but as several other towns showed symptoms of disorder, the Duke of Burgundy thought it advisable to repair in person to Holland, whither he was accompanied by John of Nassau, lord of Breda, and John of Heusburg, bishop of Liege. Through their mediation the governments of the towns, which Philip, on the occasion of the disturbances, took upon himself to change out of the regular course, were, for the most part, equally divided between the two factions, and by this means the establishment of a

good understanding was in a great degree effected. The duke, moreover, renewed the prohibition of the treaty made between himself and the Countess Jacoba in 1428, against the calling of party names; and the "Rederykers," or rhetoricians, a species of dramatic poets, whose art was much in vogue about this time, particularly in the Netherlands, were forbidden to represent satirical pieces, or to sing songs in ridicule of either party*. Having thus lessened the incitements to hostilities, Philip took measures to prevent their actual commission, by prohibiting all liveries or distinguishing marks, except for household servants; as well as the wearing of hoods, the creation of new bodies of schuttery (or burgher-guard), and the wearing of armour, swords, long knives, or such like weapons. It is provided likewise, that in case of any death occurring in an affray, the relations on each side who were not present at the time, shall enjoy a peace of six weeks' duration, that they may have an opportunity of compromising the matter^w †. These regulations sufficiently

^w Scriveliuss Haarlem, bl. 260.

* The Troubadours of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were accustomed to recite poems in dialogues sustained by two, three, or more characters, and called "tensiones;" these appear to have suggested the first idea of representing some sacred action, such as the passion of our Saviour, &c.: the popularity of such representations or "mysteries," as they were called, gave rise to a species of farce, which was accustomed to be acted in the streets for the amusement of the populace, the subject being generally afforded by some standing jest of the day, or ludicrous incident that had lately happened; the actors in this rude kind of drama, who were usually the composers of it also, were called "Rederykers."

† A similar ordinance was published in France by St. Louis two hundred years before, when the custom of private war was in full vigour, prohibiting any person to commence hostilities against the friends of his adversary until forty days after the commission of the offence, which was the cause of quarrel. Velly, *Hist. de France*, tom. v., p. 249. I am inclined to think that the custom of private war constantly prevailed more or less among the nobility in the Netherlands, even to this late period, when it had quite or nearly ceased in France and England; in

testify to what a lamentable state of disorganization, almost of anarchy, the prevalence of party spirit had reduced Holland.

Philip did not neglect to turn to his own advantage, the peace which he had thus endeavoured to secure. In the year 1447, he demanded a fresh ten years' petition of the states of Holland. They granted it, though with great reluctance; and the duke sent commissioners into Holland to assess the portion to be paid by each of the different towns, and by the open country. But the inequality of their valuation became a subject of complaint to many of the towns: the inhabitants of West Friezland and Waterland were 1448 especially dissatisfied with it, and the latter went so far as positively to refuse the payment of more than their customary quota. In order to force them to compliance, the stadtholder, John de Lannoy, who now succeeded Godwin de Wilde, ordered a general levy of troops, marched into Waterland, and seizing the persons of some of the richest inhabitants, detained them prisoners in the Hague until the people paid to the full their allotted share of the petition^x; the states allowed this arbitrary and unconstitutional proceeding to pass without animadversion.

Having effected the pacification of Holland, Philip turned his attention to the accomplishment of an object which he had long had much at heart; the reform, namely, of those abuses in the Catholic Church, which were already paving the way for its signal overthrow in the next century. Besides the general causes of the dis-

^x Groote Chron., divis. xxix., cap. 15. Velius Hoorn, bl. 36.

the former country it was, by an edict published in 1413, when the dissensions between the Burgundy and Orleans factions were at their height, punishable with imprisonment and confiscation of property. Monstrelet, vol. iii., p. 245.

esteem into which the clergy of all the Christian nations had now sunk,—their ambition, luxury, and rapacity, the decay of learning and piety among them, their irregular and licentious lives, the simony, and profligate sale of indulgences they universally practised,—there were other reasons which rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Hollanders. Holland and Zealand had, from the earliest times, been under the spiritual superintendence of the bishops of Utrecht, and were divided into priories, or deaneries, in each of which the prior, or dean, collected the tithes, church-fines, and other episcopal revenues, on the part of the bishops. This jurisdiction was exercised with more or less authority, as the bishops happened to be on friendly terms or otherwise, with the counts; and the hostilities for a long period existing between them, having of late years in a great measure ceased, the former had considerably extended their influence, claiming for their own courts the decision of all matters wherein a churchman was in any way concerned, and using this and every other pretext they could plead or invent, to transfer causes from the lay to the ecclesiastical tribunals¹. The clergy, moreover, vehemently insisted upon the mischievous privilege of sanctuary, which had during the late internal troubles, increased to a most pernicious extent, making the churches, in many places, little more than a harbour, as well for riotous and seditious persons, as for the most desperate criminals, and rendering the arm of temporal justice well nigh powerless². The monks, such even as had renounced the world, and taken a vow of poverty, had possessed themselves of large landed estates*, and exercised,

¹ Boxhorn, Nederl. Hist., bl. 195.

² Velius Hoorn, bl. 40.

* A decree had been issued by William III. in 1328, forbidding the

besides, every species of traffic and commerce: as they were exempt from most of the taxes levied on the laity, they were enabled to undersell them in the market, and thus inflicted incalculable injury on the fair and regular trader^a. As early as the year 1433, Philip had obtained from the Bishop of Utrecht, Rodolph van Diephout, a general edict, whereby the jurisdiction of the deans, as well as the privilege of sanctuary, was greatly limited, the latter being denied entirely to murderers and such as were accused of high treason^b; and some years later, he prohibited, by a severe decree, the trading of monks, and the acquisition of landed property by the mendicant orders^c. Yet, fearing that this attempt to decrease the wealth and influence of the clergy, would draw down upon him the displeasure of the Holy See, he addressed, through John Godfrey, bishop of Arras, a long and courteous letter to Pope Nicholas V., recommending his states to the discipline and protection of his Holiness, and beseeching him to adopt measures to terminate the schism then existing in the church^d. The Pope, pleased to be addressed in submissive terms by so powerful and haughty a prince, consented to send on the occasion of the jubilee of 1450, the Cardinal Nicholas Cusa as his legate, for the purpose of reforming the condition of the church, as well as of granting indulgences. The Pope, however, seems hardly to have examined with due care the orthodoxy of the opinions

^a Boxhorn, Nederl. Hist., bl. 272, 280.

^b Groot Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 391.

^c Boxhorn, Nederl. Hist., bl. 281, 282.

^d Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1447, p. 80—84.

sale of lands to monks and priests, under penalty of a fine of ten pounds upon every sale; but it does not appear to have been attended with much effect.—Brandt, Hist. der Ref., boek i., bl. 25.

held by his minister, who, shortly after his arrival, began to promulgate doctrines such as his principal would be little inclined to countenance. He did indeed openly preach the efficacy of indulgences in rescuing souls from the torments of purgatory; but hesitated not sometimes to add, that "the real remission, such as would avail at the last day, must be sought for in the Holy Scriptures; and that the papal indulgences served rather to enrich the clergy, than amend the laity^c." He openly opposed the superstitious practices then in use, declaring among other things, that the images of the saints should be held in honour only in so far as they recalled the memory of their virtues; but that when worshipped with a reverence that partook of idolatry, they ought to be removed from the churches. The bleeding images of the host also, which were looked upon as powerful to work miracles, and shown to the people for money, ought not, in his opinion, to be exhibited. The spirit of these bold innovations upon the customs, if not the principles, of the Romish Church, found ready approval from a large portion of the lay community, among whom the doctrines of the early reformers, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, introduced on the return of those who had accompanied the Emperor Sigismund as volunteers in his expedition against the heretics of Bohemia in 1420, had now spread to some
1451 extent^f. The Cardinal of Cusa, therefore, was enabled to effect some great and beneficial reforms in the church of Holland, though his efforts were attended with less success at Utrecht; and it was perhaps this temporary reformation of the most crying abuses, which delayed for yet some years the entire abandonment of their national church by the great body of the people.

^c Boxhorn, Nederl. Hist., bl. 217.

^f Idem, bl. 230.

The lavish expenditure constantly maintained by the Duke of Burgundy, had reduced his finances to so low an ebb, that he was obliged to have recourse to unpopular, and even arbitrary measures, for the purpose of replenishing his treasury. Of this nature was the duty on salt, called in France the *gabelle*, a tax long established in that country, but hitherto unknown in any of the states of the Netherlands. Philip had not ventured to lay any impost of this kind upon Holland, but in Flanders he demanded eighteen pence upon every sack of salt sold there, which the Ghenters absolutely refused to pay^{*}; and a new duty on grain, proposed in the next year, met in like manner with an universal and decided negative⁸.

In the first emotions of his anger, Philip removed every member, both of the senate and great council of Ghent, from their offices; and the city, being thus deprived of its magistrates, no power was left sufficiently strong to arrest the progress of sedition, for which men's minds were already too well prepared. The burghers, therefore, without delay, took an oath of mutual defence against the duke, assumed the white hood, the customary badge of revolt, elected (*hoofdmannen*) captains of the burgher guards, and prepared to sustain a long siege, by laying up plentiful stores of ammunition and provisions. They then commenced hostilities with the siege of Oudenarde, which the Count d'Estampes forced them to raise, and to retire

^{*} Meyer, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1448, 1449, p. 301, 302. *Ægid. de Roya*, ad ann. 1450, p. 85.

^{*} The plea of the Ghenters that they were unable to support this tax was well founded; since the manufacture of salt, as well as the preparation of salted fish, was to the Flemings and Hollanders an object of extensive commerce. "Philip," says the historian of Flanders (Meyer, p. 301), "*Imitari enim studuit Gallorum regum detestabiles mores.*"

to Ghent with considerable loss. Philip immediately placed troops in Dendermonde, Courtrai, and the other towns in the vicinity of Ghent, and several skirmishes were fought between the insurgents and the duke's forces with alternate success. At length the latter, having attacked the Ghenters near Ruppelmonde, defeated them in a sharp engagement, wherein 2500 of their number were slain^b.

1452 This ill-success was followed by another still more signal defeat, at Hulst and Moerbeke, in which the Hollanders, under the Lord of Veere, bore the principal share. Notwithstanding the utter discomfiture sustained by the Ghenters, whose loss amounted to nearly five thousand slain, they resolutely refused the terms of accommodation proposed by the ambassadors whom the King of France had sent into Flanders to mediate between the contending parties. Upon the failure of the negotiations, the war was renewed with desolating fury; the villages around Ghent were sacked and burnt by each party as they fell into their hands: the prisoners on both sides were massacred without mercy, no quarter was given, and no amount of ransom acceptedⁱ.

Eager to put an end to so ruinous a contest, Philip assembled an immense force, provided with a numerous train of artillery, and entering Flanders in person, captured the fortified village of Gaveren. The Ghenters hereupon rashly determined to stake their fortunes on the chance of a battle, and marching out of Ghent to the number of 24,000, among whom were 7,000 volunteers from England, advanced to the village

^b *Ægid. de Roya*, p. 86. *Meyer, Ann. Fland.*, lib. xvi., ad ann. 1449, p. 302. *Monstrelet*, vol. ix., chap. 29—33. *Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur.*, lib. iv., cap. 10, 11.

ⁱ *Monstrelet*, vol. ix., chap. 35—38. *De la Marche*, liv. i., chap. 25, p. 248.

of Senmers-saken, within a short distance of Gaveren. The duke hastily drew out his forces in readiness for the attack; but ere the engagement was well begun, the insurgent army was thrown into sudden and irremediable confusion, in consequence, it is said, of the desertion of two English captains, John Fox and John Wood, together with the whole of their countrymen; by others, the panic was attributed to the explosion of a bag of gunpowder, accidentally ignited by the master of the artillery. On the first charge of the enemy, the Ghenters fled in disorder towards the Scheldt, whither they were pursued by the Burgundians, when nearly the whole were slaughtered or drowned, in attempting to escape by crossing the river. This overwhelming misfortune effectually broke the spirit of the insurgents, who were fain to submit to the mercy of their sovereign. Two thousand of their citizens, headed by the sheriffs, councillors, and captains of the burgher guard, were obliged to meet the duke a league without the walls of the city, and there to sue for pardon on their knees, bareheaded, barefoot, and ungirded: the citizens were deprived of the banners of their guilds; and the duke was henceforward to have an equal voice with them in the appointment of their magistrates, whose judicial authority was considerably abridged; the inhabitants likewise bound themselves to liquidate the expenses of the war, and to pay the gabelle for the future¹.

The Duke of Burgundy was so highly gratified with the alacrity which the Hollanders and Zealanders had shown (with a short-sighted policy perhaps) in lending their assistance to subdue the Ghenters, that he promised to release the people from the ten years' petition,

¹ Monstrelet, vol. ix., chap. 44—48. *Ægid. de Roya*, ad ann. 1453, p. 89.

in case of invasion, or the occurrence of a flood; and confirmed the valuable and important privilege, “*de non evocando*,” that is, that no one should be brought to trial out of the boundaries of the county. Four cases, however, were excepted: when the cause could not be decided by reason of the contumacy of either of the parties; when a dispute arose between any two towns which could not be settled by the council at the Hague; in case of any tumult or disorder which the council was unable to appease; and, lastly, all such cases were excepted, as could not be judged at the ordinary courts, without injury to the general laws of the country^k. A reservation, such as arbitrary princes have ever been fond of inserting in grants of popular privileges, that Philip himself was to be sole judge of when a case of exception arose, considerably qualified this ancient right so deeply cherished by the Dutch nation. It was during the war with the Ghenters that the Count of Charolois, afterwards Charles the “Bold,” or “Rash,” first began to draw attention to himself, and to manifest symptoms of that restless and headstrong character, of which we shall ere long have to remark the deplorable effects. Before hostilities had yet broken out, the duke, his father, not wishing to encourage his passion for war, already excessive, sent him to Zealand in the quality of stadtholder of the county. There he demanded of the states a petition in the name of Duke Philip, which he had no sooner obtained; than he hastened back to Brabant, to be ready to take a share in the expedition against the Ghenters. Philip still sought to detain him, under the pretext that there was no armour prepared for him. “I would rather,” said the proud and impatient prince,

^k Monstrelet, vol. ix., chap. 35. Boxhorn op Reigersberg, ii. deel, bl. 229. Groot Plakaat., bl. 679.

“fight in my doublet, than not help my father to subdue these rebellious Ghenters.” To the entreaties of his mother, that he would remain at court for her sake, and for the sake of his subjects, he replied, that, “It would be better for his subjects to lose him young, than to have in him hereafter a cowardly and sluggish master;” and on her urging that it was sufficient for his father, Philip, to be exposed to danger, “It is therefore I ought to go,” said he, “lest men think, that when my father and the chief nobility expose their lives for the state, I am prevented by fear from following them¹.” At the end of the Ghentish war, 1454 he returned to Zealand, where the severity of his judgments in the supreme court, over which he presided as stadtholder and representative of the count, rendered his authority fully as much feared as respected. Upon his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Charles, duke of Bourbon, which took place in the October of this year, he quitted Holland, and remained some time in Brabant. He had before been married, while yet a child, to Catherine, daughter of Charles VII. of France, who died in 1446, without issue^m.

During Charles's stay in Brabant, events occurred in Utrecht which prepared the way for the future junction of this ecclesiastical state with the rest of the Netherlands. Philip had long desired this see for his natural son, David of Burgundy, bishop of Terouanne; but upon the death of the bishop, Rodolph van Diephout, the chapter unanimously elected, in opposition to David, Gilbert van Brederode, archdeacon of the 1455 cathedral, who was proclaimed in the choir, took possession of the episcopal palace, and obtained con-

¹ Mém. d'Olivier de la Marche, liv. i., chap. 23, p. 228 ; chap. 27, p. 264. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 1.

^m Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 15. De la Marche, liv. i., cap. 31, p. 302.

firmation of his temporal authority from the emperor, Frederick III. Although not a single vote had declared in favour of David, Philip, after the election of Gilbert van Brederode, despatched John Godfrey, bishop of Arras, to the court of Rome, charging him to represent 1455 to Calixtus III., then pope, that Gilbert was ineligible to be a bishop, because he had taken part in the war against the Ghenters; and to petition that his holiness would not only refuse to ratify the election, but bestow the bishopric of Utrecht on David of Burgundy. However ungraceful the objection to Brederode might sound in the mouth of Duke Philip, who had profited by his assistance, and however monstrous the proposal, that the Pope should nominate to a see, which had from time immemorial been elective, it was too agreeable in its nature, and too well supported by flatteries and presents on the part of Duke Philip, to permit his holiness to hesitate long as to the line of conduct he should pursue. He gave audience indeed to the ambassadors of Gilbert, received and retained the customary gift of 4000 ducats, which they brought him, but secretly delivered to the Bishop of Arras letters creating David of Burgundy bishop of Utrechtⁿ. While the affair was pending, Philip feeling little doubt in what manner it would terminate, and receiving intelligence that the states of Utrecht had appointed Gilbert van Brederode guardian and defender of the see, until the Pope's ratification of his election, prepared to secure by force the reception of his son in the bishopric; and for this purpose repaired to Holland to raise a general levy of troops^o. The Hollanders rarely failed to take advantage of a conjuncture when

ⁿ Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 151. Heda in Gisbert. et Dav., p. 291. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 16.

^o Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 151.

their sovereigns required their support, to recover or extend their privileges; and the historian has often to admire their steady patience in waiting their opportunity—the manly, but respectful, earnestness with which they vindicated their claims, and the generous patriotism with which they made vast pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of their highly prized liberties. On this occasion the West Friezlanders and Kemmerlanders, knowing that the duke must have recourse to their assistance in the projected war against Utrecht, offered him a considerable sum of money for the restoration of the franchises of which they had been deprived in 1426; Alkmaar paid one hundred and ten pounds (Flemish), the whole of Kemmerland one pound for each house, and the remainder in proportion: the duke, in return, reinstated them in the same privileges as they had enjoyed before that time, while this mark of favour so won upon the Hollanders in general, that they unanimously prepared to assist, both with men and money, the expedition to Utrecht^p.

The inhabitants of that state no sooner heard of the preparations making by Philip, than they resolved to supply the city with a numerous garrison and provisions for a siege; while Reynold van Brederode, Henry van Montfort, and such of the nobility as adhered to the side of Bishop Gilbert, threw themselves within its walls. Immediately on the reception of the Pope's letters of appointment, the duke sent forward Adrian van Borselen, the husband of one of his natural daughters, with an army into Utrecht. 1456 On his arrival, Amersfoort and Reenen opened their gates without resistance, acknowledging David of Burgundy as bishop; and Philip himself followed shortly after at the head of 14,000 men to besiege

^p Handvest. van Kemmer., bl. 58. Boxhorn op Veldenaar, bl. 194.

the city of Utrecht. The Bishop Gilbert and the citizens were seized with such alarm at his approach, that they gave to the Duke of Cleves, who had before offered his mediation, full powers, in conjunction with some other nobles, to make the best terms they could, in order to preserve them from an assault. An agreement was therefore concluded, by which Gilbert surrendered all claim to the bishopric in favour of David of Burgundy, retaining the archdeaconry of Utrecht and an annuity of 4000 guilders out of the revenues of the see, which were computed at 50,000 Rhenish guilders yearly. After this compromise the new bishop was received without difficulty through the whole state, except the town of Deventer, which did not submit until after a siege of eight weeks' duration^a.

Having thus obtained a footing in Utrecht, Philip sought further to gratify his ambition by establishing his dominion over Friezland. Since the loss of Staveren, in the reign of William VI., the counts of Holland had been deprived of even a shadow of authority in that province. They continued, it is true, to assume the title of Lord of Friezland, and John of Bavaria had even been formally acknowledged by the inhabitants, but they were still, "in fact, a free people, and subject to no foreign rule^r." The state was yet divided by the two factions of nobles and people, (Vetkoopers and Schieringers,) and the violence of their contentions had enfeebled both to such a degree, that Philip thought it a favourable opportunity for bringing them under subjection. He therefore sent deputies from Utrecht to the Friezlanders of Oostergouwe and Westergouwe, to promise them advan-

^a Monstrelet, vol. ix., chap. 65. Heda in Gisb. et Dav., pp. 292, 293. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. x., p. 151.

^r *Æneas* Sylvius de Statu. Europe, cap. xxvii., p. 73.

tageous conditions if they would acknowledge him as lord, and threatening to visit them at the head of an army if they refused^a.

The Friezlanders, dreading on the one hand the overwhelming power of the duke, and unwilling on the other to sacrifice their long cherished independence, chose a middle course; they consented to send deputies to Haarlem, in obedience to the summons of the duke, but empowered them only to hear and report upon the terms offered. The Friesland deputies having appeared before the stadtholder and council of Holland, it was proposed to them that, "the Friezlanders, especially those of Oostergouwe and Westergouwe had, for many years, withdrawn themselves from the authority of their lawful sovereign, contrary to all right and justice, and thus entailed upon their country his high displeasure; nevertheless, if they would now receive and acknowledge him as lord, he was willing to confirm all their charters and privileges, to promote their commerce, and to raise them to a state of prosperity, similar to that which Holland and Zealand enjoyed under his government. The deputies having reported the result of their embassy to a full assembly of the states of Friesland, it was resolved, not only to leave the duke's proposal unanswered, but to maintain with their lives and property their independence as "free Friezlanders^b."

At this juncture, the Emperor Frederic III., whether desiring to assert his sovereignty over Friesland or that he found himself obliged to resort to every possible method of raising supplies, sent one Thomas 1457 von Guristeden, to demand the yearly payment supposed

^a Boxhorn op Veldenaar, bl. 204.

^b Ubbo Emm. Rer. Fris., lib. xxv., pp. 380—382. Boxhorn op Veldenaar, bl. 206.

to be due from Friezland to the empire, with the arrears for a considerable period. The Emperor Sigismund had, in the year 1418, demanded a like tribute, on the ground that Friezland reverted to the empire as a male fief, on the death of William VI. Whether or not it was then paid, appears doubtful; but the Friezlanders now readily consented to its payment, on condition that the emperor would accede to the demands made on their side. These were, that the emperor should forbid Philip, duke of Burgundy, to assume any authority in the province; and the Friezlanders, under heavy penalties, to acknowledge any lord but the emperor alone; that the emperor should renew the privileges of Charlemagne and Sigismund, with this addition, that no native should be brought to trial out of the boundaries of Friezland. The emperor, eager to grasp the offered monies, accepted the conditions, and despatched a letter-patent to the Duke of Burgundy, commanding him, on pain of his heavy displeasure, to desist from asserting any sovereignty over Friezland, promising to hear, and to do him justice, if he could establish his claim to that province^u. It is probable that Philip would have paid but little regard to the imperial mandate, had he felt much inclination to pursue so unprofitable and inglorious a war; from which, however, he was averted by domestic disquietudes, and by circumstances which had occurred, calculated to weaken the tie of friendship between himself and France, and to place him in a hostile position with Charles VII., the able and powerful monarch of that country.

The dauphin of France, afterwards King Louis XI., had for many years been at variance with his father,

^u Eg. Beninga, *Hist. Orien. Fris.*, lib. ii., cap. 82. Boxhorn op Velde-naar, bl. 209, 214.

and retiring from the court to Dauphiné, his appanage, governed that province independently of the royal authority. Charles, at length finding his remonstrances and offers of reconciliation alike ineffectual, sent an army to reduce his rebellious son to submission. Louis, 1456 destitute of support, and surrounded by the royal forces, fled in haste and secrecy to Brussels, where (the duke being at that time in Utrecht,) he was received by the duchess and court with every demonstration of welcome and respect^v. It seemed as though he carried the spirit of discord with him, since within a short time of his arrival, similar dissensions arose between Philip of Burgundy, and his son the Count of Charolois. It has been observed, that Philip, fearing the effects of the restless temper of his son at the court, had created him stadtholder-general of Holland; he had since then been put in possession of several rich lordships in the county, and as he found his influence daily increasing, he began to assume a more haughty tone, and to give evident tokens of dissatisfaction with many parts of his father's government, particularly the favour he evinced towards the house of Croye; of which the head, John de Croye, was the principal minister of the duke, and stood high in his confidence and esteem; while both himself and his family, were proportionally detested by Charles. During the residence of the dauphin at Brussels, John de Croye paid constant and assiduous court to him, and this circumstance laid the germ of the hatred that ever after subsisted between Louis and Charles; a hatred which their different characters were well calculated to nourish, and their opposing interests to develop^w.

^v Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur. lib. iv., cap. 16. Villaret Cont. de Velly, tom. xvi., p. 152.

^w Mém. de Com., liv. vi., p. 180. De la Marche, liv. i., chap. 33, p. 307, 308. Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 16.

The residence of his son at the court of his vassal, must necessarily be regarded by the King of France with feelings of jealousy and vexation. Philip had, upon the arrival of Louis, written a letter couched in most respectful terms, informing him of the event; and had afterwards attempted to reconcile the differences between the father and son; but the entire submission which Charles thought it necessary to exact, and the cold and suspicious temper of the dauphin, rendered his efforts abortive; it may be doubted indeed whether they were very sincere, since Philip could not view himself without pleasure possessed of so powerful a weapon against France. There were also various other causes of dissatisfaction existing between the two sovereigns; each party made complaints of the violation of the treaty of Arras; and Charles had formed some alliances suspected by the Duke of Burgundy, especially with the emperor and the city of Liege; and had, moreover, promised his daughter Magdalen in marriage to Ladislaus, king of Hungary, rival of Duke Philip for the possession of Luxemburg. The Kings of France and Hungary agreed, at the same time, to unite their forces for the purpose of depriving the duke, not only of Luxemburg, but likewise of Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Hainault; which, as they declared, he had illegally wrested from the Countess Jacoba*. Ladislaus, dying before the completion of the marriage, left by will his claims upon Luxemburg to Magdalen of France.

In this threatening aspect of affairs, the duke deemed it advisable to defer a crusade which he had sworn to undertake, on receiving the tidings of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and

* Duclos, *Sup. à l'Hist. de Louis XI.*, tom. iii., p. 135. Monstrelet, vol. ix., chap. 71, p. 411, chap. 72. Villaret, *Cont. de Velly*, tom. xvi., p. 191.

to prepare for war nearer his own boundaries¹. Nevertheless, either unwilling to engage in hostilities at his advanced age, while embarrassed by domestic cabals, or in order to gain time for putting matters in train, he sent John de Croye, with John of Lannoy, stadtholder of Holland, at the head of a solemn embassy, to demand the cause of the warlike preparations then making at the court of France. The breach, however, still widened, and war appeared inevitable, when the death of Charles VII. changed, for a short time, the state of affairs. The duke accompanied the new monarch to his kingdom, assisted at his coronation at Rheims, where he did him voluntary homage, not only for the states he held of France, but for his possessions in general, and attended him to Paris with a train of 240 nobles; while the king, on his side, loaded Philip with compliments and caresses, and conferred on the Count of Charolois, the important office of Lieutenant-General of Normandy². Whether the conduct of Louis were prompted by sincere gratitude for the protection afforded him by Burgundy in his time of need, or whether adopted only to flatter the duke into a compliance with his wishes, it is certain that he took advantage of the favourable dispositions of the latter, to press for the restoration of those towns which had been ceded to him by the peace of Arras. Charles VII. had been forced to buy this peace very dear; by the terms of the treaty, all the towns on the Somme, St. Quentin, Corbye, Amiens, Abbeville, the county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, St. Riquier, Arleux, and Mortaigne, were surrendered to Philip, but redeemable by Charles, or his successors upon payment of 400,000 crowns of

¹ Mém. d'Oliv. de la Marche, chap. 30, p. 294.

² Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 3, 12. Pont. Heut., Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 17. Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., tom. i., liv. ii., p. 127.

gold^a. Philip had hitherto constantly refused to restore these towns, but he now consented to deliver them up 1463 to France immediately upon the payment of the stipulated ransom. The Count of Charolois was in Holland when he received intelligence of this transaction, which exasperated still further his hatred, both against Louis, and against John de Croye, by whose advice it was supposed the duke had acted^b.

Not long after the accession of Louis, Charles had opened a secret correspondence with Francis II., duke of Brittany, one of the principal members of a dangerous league formed by the nobles of France against him. Their negotiations were carried on through the medium of Jean de Roumillé, vice-chancellor of Brittany; and Louis, aware of the intrigue, determined, if possible, to possess himself of the person of 1464 the agent. For this purpose, he despatched a vessel manned with forty stout mariners, under the command of one Rubempré, to arrest him at Gorinchem, where he was expected to land on his way from England, for the purpose of obtaining an audience of the Count of Charolois, who usually resided there^c. It was this circumstance that gave rise to the report generally spread, that Charles himself was in reality the person aimed at; but though the character of Louis might well justify any such suspicion, yet it is hardly probable that he would seek to remove Charles from the states of his father, where the dissensions he caused so well answered his purpose, and in such a manner as would inevitably arouse the hostility of the whole nation,

^a Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. i., p. 9.

^b Mém. de Ph. de Commines, liv. i., chap. 1. Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 23.

^c Mém. de la Marche, liv. i., chap. 35, p. 312. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 1. Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 29.

which it was his interest now more particularly to avoid. Whatever the design might have been, it wholly failed. Rubempré was himself seized and thrown into prison, where he remained until 1469. The Duke of Burgundy was at this time holding a conference with King Louis at Heusden; and the Count of Charolois, in giving him information of the attempt, which he failed not to magnify to the utmost, declared, that Louis not only intended to seize him, but likewise to make himself master of the person of the duke himself; and Philip, either believing, or affecting to believe, that he was no longer in safety near the king, precipitately quitted Heusden. Louis soon after sent a solemn embassy to clear himself of this accusation; but his protestations of innocence proved utterly ineffective, nor could he prevent the reconciliation that a sense of their common danger brought about between Philip and his son. Charles having induced his father, during a severe fit of sickness which followed this event, to resign the cares of government into his hands, made the first use of his power by forcing all the members of the family of Croye to quit their offices, which proceeding rekindled the anger of the duke against him to so violent a degree, that immediately on his recovery he revoked the appointment he had made. But a pacification being once more effected by the intercession of some of the knights of the golden fleece, Philip bestowed on the Count of Charolois the command of an army destined for the invasion of France, in concert with the nobles of that country engaged in the league called the "Confederation for the public good," whose cause both Philip and Charles now openly espoused^d. 1465

^d Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 32, 36. Commynes, liv. i., chap. 2.

At the head of 12,000 horse*, and a numerous body of infantry, Charles marched with little resistance to the very gates of Paris, whence, as his forces were not sufficient to commence the siege, he retired to Montlhéri, to await the arrival of the Duke of Brittany with his army. The King of France, who was in the Bourbonnois at the time of the invasion, returned by hasty marches towards Paris, determined, if possible, to prevent the junction of his enemies; for this purpose, he made an attack on the Count of Charolois, while yet unsupported by his allies at Montlhéri; but the event of the battle proving indecisive, Louis was unable to effect his design, and Charles marching to Conflans, was there joined by the troops of the insurgent nobles. The confederates were already prepared to surround Paris, when Louis put an end to the war by a stroke of policy at once bold and successful. Accompanied by only four or five attendants, he placed himself in a small boat, and rowing up the Seine from Paris, approached close to Conflans. On the shore he perceived the Count of Charolois, standing with the Count de St. Pol, and surrounded by a large body of cavalry. Addressing the former, the king exclaimed, "Brother, will you promise me safety?" "Yes, as a brother," answered Charles. Louis, without further security, immediately sprang ashore, when the two princes embraced as affectionate and long tried friends, after which they held a long and private conference. This was followed by several interviews, which resulted in the treaty of Conflans, whereby Louis, anxious to remove Charles from the heart of his dominions, and determined at any price to dissolve the formidable league against him, consented

* According to Monstrelet, or his continuator, 28,000 horse, vol. x., . 310.

to reinstate the Duke of Burgundy in the possession of the towns on the Somme, provided that, after the death of himself and Philip, they should be redeemable on payment of the sum of 200,000 golden crowns*. After the conclusion of this peace, Charles proceeded to chastise the insolence of the burghers of Liege and Dinant, who, having made an alliance with Louis on the breaking out of the war between France and Burgundy, invaded Brabant and Namur, and devastated the whole country with fire and sword. Charles, on his return from France, laid siege to Liege, defeated an army of Liegeois before its walls, and the town, hopeless of assistance from Louis, surrendered on conditions. The citizens were forced to pay a fine of 600,000 Rhenish guilders. Dinant was taken by storm and pillaged, its fortifications razed to the ground, and 8,000 of the inhabitants drowned in the 1466 Maas, by order of Charles†.

Whether or not the Hollanders took part in either of these expeditions is uncertain; but it is clear that they were by no means exempt from a share in the expenses they entailed on the states. A ten years' petition was levied on Holland and West Friezland, amounting to 55,183 crowns a year; and Zealand was taxed in the same proportion. Charles, during his residence in these provinces, had found means so greatly to increase his influence, that he was little likely to meet with resistance to any of his demands, even if the example of Ghent had not afforded a severe lesson to such as might be inclined to offer it. He obtained, as we have seen, considerable baronies

* Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 41, 44. Commynes, liv. i., chap. 12. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 66.

† Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 60. Commynes, liv. i., chap. 12. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. iv., cap. 18.

both in Holland and Zealand; he reduced the number of the council of state from eight-and-twenty to eight, besides the stadtholder; and as he professed to choose them rather for their skill in affairs, than for the nobility of their birth, they became entirely subservient to his will. He likewise deprived the council of the office of auditing the public accounts, which it had hitherto exercised, uniting the chamber of finance at the Hague with that of Brussels^g. This was the first step towards an union between Holland and the rest of the Netherlands, which was afterwards partially, but never entirely, effected. Charles was recalled from Holland into Brabant in the early part of the year 1467, by the declining health of his father, who lay sick at Bruges of a quinsey, which terminated his existence on the 15th of February, in the seventy-second year of his age. He left by his wife, Isabella of Portugal, only one son, Charles. The number of his illegitimate children is said by some to have been thirty, but he made provision for no more than nineteen^h. Philip's humanity, benevolence, affability, and strict regard to justice, obtained for him the surname of Good; while his love of peace, and the advantageous treaties which the extent and importance of his dominions enabled him to make with foreign nations, tended greatly to increase the commerce of his subjects. The Dutch at this time maintained a considerable carrying trade with England, in gold, silver, and jewelsⁱ, besides a valuable traffic in wools, cloths, linen, herrings, and salt, in the refining of which they were possessed of peculiar skill^k. The increase of trade was accompanied by a corresponding improve-

^g Annal. Belg., tom. ii., p. 1.

^h Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. ii., p. 1259, et seq.

ⁱ Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 403.

^k Idem, p. 761.

ment in agriculture, particularly in that branch of it so important to Holland, the management of the dykes. These had hitherto been constructed of reed and a species of sea-weed called wier, gathered principally in the island of Wieringen; but a new method was now adopted, of laying down long heavy beams, joined at certain distances by cross beams, made fast with strong iron bolts, and defended against the first break of the waters by a curtain of pile-work.

The wealth thus procured by the genius and industry of the Netherlands, enabled them to sustain the heavy burdens laid upon them by Duke Philip, with a comparative ease which led a contemporary author to suppose that they were, in fact, more lightly taxed than the subjects of other princes¹. As Philip, however, during the whole of his reign kept up a court which surpassed every other in Europe in luxury and magnificence*, and contrived besides to amass vast sums of money, it is evident that his treasury must have been liberally supplied by his people†. The supposition of the historian is contra-

¹ Commines, liv. v., chap. 2.

* During his attendance on Louis XI. at Paris, when that monarch went to take possession of his kingdom, "he excited the admiration of the Parisians by the splendour of his dress, table, and equipages; the hotel of Artois, where he lived, was hung with the richest tapestries ever seen in France. When he rode through the streets, he wore every day some new dress, or jewel of price—the frontlet of his horse was covered with the richest jewels; in his dining hall was a square sideboard with four steps to each side, which, at dinner time, was covered with the richest gold and silver plate. In the garden of his hotel was pitched a superb tent, covered on the outside with fine velvet, embroidered with fusils in gold, and powdered over with gold sparkles. The fusils were the arms of all his countries and lordships, very richly worked." Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 13.

† We are told by a native, though not contemporary author, that Philip "received more money from his subjects than they had paid in four centuries together before; but they thought little of it, since he

dicted also by the fact, that Philip excited a dangerous revolt in Ghent, by the imposition of new and oppressive taxes on the Flemings; while in Holland he introduced the unprecedented and unconstitutional custom of levying petitions for a number of years together. He left, at his death, a treasure amounting to 400,000 crowns of gold, and 100,000 marks of silver, with pictures, jewels, and furniture, supposed to be worth two millions more^m. In order to estimate truly the real value of this quantity of the precious metals, we must consider their scarcity at this period, and the consequent low price of corn and other necessaries. In years of ordinary plenty the price of the bushel of rye, (at that time the principal ingredient in the common bread of the country,) was one penny halfpenny; for the same quantity of wheat two pence farthing; a stoup (two quarts) of Rhenish wine one penny halfpenny; for a cask of butter and 400 lbs. of cheese together, ninety-six Rhenish florins, or seven shillings and sixpence; a weight of hay, sufficient for the feeding of a cow during a whole winter, one shilling and sixpence; for a fat pig three shillings and ninepence; for an ox thirteen shillings and sixpenceⁿ. Owing to the failure of the crops in the year 1437, the bushel of wheat rose to an English noble, and during the famine caused by the capture of the fleet returning with corn from the Baltic in the next year, half a guilder was paid for the rye loaf^o. From 1455 to 1460, years of scarcity, the bushel of rye sold for somewhat more than eightpence halfpenny. The dearth was followed, as it usually

^m De la Marche, liv. i., chap. 37, p. 329.

ⁿ Recherches sur le Commerce, tom. i., pp. 197—199.

^o Velius Hoorn, p. 32.

happens, by seasons of great abundance, so that in 1464 a bushel of wheat, the same of barley, rye, and oats, a stoup of wine, a capon and a goose, were sold together for an old gold crown, value twenty-two pence^{p*}. The salaries of public officers were proportionably low; the members of the council appointed by Philip and Jacoba jointly, had each a salary of 20*l.*, 25*l.*, or 30*l.*, per annum[†]; and that of the president was fixed at 120*l.* yearly[‡]. In the year 1426 the Duke of Burgundy appointing Herman Gaasbeck and Roland van Uytkerken, captains-general in Holland, gave them six florins, or ten shillings a day, for their expenses, and twelve florins and a half, or about one guinea a day for the maintenance of twenty-five men at arms and their horses^q. Thus the necessary expenses of the government must have been comparatively small, and the principal portion of the large sums Philip drew into his treasury, was expended on his private pleasures, or in festivals, shows, and entertainments.

The example of prodigality set by the sovereign infected his whole court: the nobles vied with each other in squandering their incomes upon articles of effeminate luxury, or puerile ostentation; and the poverty they thus entailed upon themselves and their posterity, was made a subject of bitter reproach to them under his successors. It is said that Philip encouraged this disposition among them, in order to

^p Heda, p. 293.

^q *Recherches sur le Commerce*, tom. i., pp. 212, 213.

^{*} Thus we see that the importation of corn did not prevent, as might be expected, great fluctuation in the price: the periods of scarcity were, however, of much shorter duration than in those countries which depended on their own supplies.

[†] 400, 500, or 600 schilds at 28 gros, or halfpence.

[‡] 1200 ryders of 48 gros each.

render their dependence upon himself the more absolute. But however imperfectly the true principles of government may have been understood at this period, we can hardly suppose that a prince so clear sighted as Philip, would have pursued such a mistaken course of policy as that of seeking to strengthen his authority by surrounding the ducal chair with a needy and rapacious nobility.

Nor was poverty the only evil which increasing luxury brought in its train; indolence, voluptuousness, and sensuality, were carried to an excess hitherto unheard of: both men and women adopted the most absurd and extravagant modes in dress* and equipage, and accustomed themselves to unbounded license in conversation and manners†. With the exception of some of the nobility, however, the people of Holland and Zealand, at a distance from the court, which generally resided at Brussels, escaped its contaminating influence, and preserved their native integrity and purity of morals entire amidst the general corruption‡. Nevertheless, they were far from being exempt from national vices. The cabals of the hook and cod parties had disseminated among them a spirit of faction, a bitterness of party hatred, and a disregard of law and order which brutalized their manners, annihilated all feelings of true patriotism, and afforded the sovereign

* Commynes, liv. i., chap. 2. De la Marche, liv. i. chap. 29, p. 287; chap. 37. Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 54.

† Erasmus, "Auris Batava."

* On one occasion the duke, being obliged by illness to have his head shaved, issued an order that all the nobility in his states should in like manner shave their heads; five hundred were found willing to obey this injunction; with respect to the recusants, one Pierre Vacquembac, with others, were commanded to seize such as they could lay hands on, and cut off their hair by force. De la Marche, liv. i., chap. 34, p. 310.

a pretext for adopting measures to restrain their excesses, highly inimical to their civil liberties.

The same cause retarded in Holland the progress of literature and the arts, which in Flanders and Brabant, under the munificent patronage and encouragement of Philip, were making rapid advances: the Dutch had no name to oppose to that of John van Eyck, of Bruges, who, in the early part of this century, marked out an æra in the annals of painting by his invention of oil colours: and it is in the works of foreigners and Flemings, as contemporary historians, of Monstrelet, de Roya, and de Commynes, that we must seek for the passing notices of a country which had produced a John of Leyden and a Melis Stoke. The beneficial effects of printing in the general advancement of learning and civilization were not as yet perceived, since the expense of printed books being hitherto little less than that of manuscripts, the possession of them was still confined to the wealthy few. The honour of this invention is, as it is well known, disputed with Mentz by Haarlem. It is not my purpose to enter into this interminable controversy, but merely to observe, that if any share in the merit of a discovery is to be ascribed to him who first presents it in such a state of perfection as to draw the attention of mankind to its beauty or utility, so much is certainly due to Lawrence Coster of Haarlem*; since he it was who 1428 gave the first idea of the art, by the invention of the fixed wooden types, which Faust, or Fust, and Schœffer afterwards improved by casting the types in metal, and John Guttemberg of Mentz completed, by making them moveable. The Chinese, it is true, had been for

* His name was Lawrence John; the surname of "Koster," or churchwarden, being added, because this office, then esteemed honourable in Holland, was hereditary in his family.

many centuries acquainted with a method of obtaining impressions from figures carved in wood, but as this art was generally neglected in Europe, and it does not appear that it was even known in Holland, the invention, as far as Lawrence Coster is concerned, must be regarded as original*.

* It is said to have been made in the following manner. While reposing one day in a wood near Haarlem, Lawrence, in the mere idleness of the moment, cut some letters backwards on a bit of beech-wood, when it occurred to him to take off the impression in the same way as from a seal for the amusement of his daughter's children. Improving upon the idea, he afterwards, with the help of Thomas Peterson, their father, succeeded in forming a thick glutinous kind of ink, and with these materials was accustomed to make for them little books containing pictures, and the explanations. Thus he seems to have carried the invention as far as the making of block-books. Boxhorn, Theat. Urb. Holl. in Haar., p. 135.

CHAPTER II.

Charles. Marriage with Margaret of York. Alliance with England against France. Interview between the Duke of Burgundy and King of France at Peronne. Its Termination. Revolutions in England. Hostilities with France. Truce. Disturbances in Holland; in Zealand. Renewal of the war. Truce. Affairs of Guelderland. Charles desires to be crowned. Meeting with the Emperor at Treves for this purpose. Disappointment of his wishes. His ambitious Schemes. Siege of Nuys. League with England. Siege of Nuys raised. War with Lorraine; with the Swiss. Capture and Battle of Granson. Increase of Charles's Enemies. Battle of Morat. Siege of Nancy; Battle, and Death of Charles. Accession of Mary. King of France takes possession of Burgundy. Assembly of the States of the Netherlands. Great Charter. Council of Regency. Ambassadors sent by Mary to France, and by the Council. Fate of the former. War with France. Marriage of the Duchess. Truce, and renewal of the War. Dissensions in Holland. State of the Country. Maximilian repairs thither. Injuries done to the Dutch Navy by France. Alliance with England. Renewal of Disturbances in Holland. War with Utrecht. Death and Character of Mary.

THE truce which had been concluded in 1443 between the late Duke of Burgundy and Henry VI. of England, had since that time been renewed from year to year, notwithstanding repeated complaints of its infraction by both parties, until 1466, when a negotiation was set on foot for the marriage of the Count of Charolois (whose wife, Isabella of Bourbon, had died the year before,) with Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. A treaty of commerce and amity was likewise concluded in the October of the same year between Philip and Edward, which Charles confirmed immediately after his accession^a. In the next year he completed his 1468 marriage with the Princess Margaret; and made with

^a Rym. Fœd., tom. ii., p. 564, 576, 580. Ph. de Commynes, liv. iv., chap. 5, p. 14.

Edward a league of mutual assistance and protection, expressly against their foes in general, but tacitly in opposition to Louis XI. of France, a formidable rival to both, as well from character as situation^b. Endowed with extraordinary personal courage, Louis was yet of a temper peculiarly cautious; slow and wary in forming designs, patient in awaiting, and skilful in seizing, opportunities for carrying them into effect; firm, but always ready to bend to expediency; absolute master of his passions, and of unfathomable dissimulation, he was in these respects an entire contrast to Charles, who, rash as he was brave, pursued his hasty and ill-digested schemes, with a headstrong obstinacy that defied all opposition: remarkable for sincerity, and for an uncontrollable violence of temper, he neither sought, nor was he able, to disguise his sentiments on any occasion. Differing in so many particulars, these princes yet resembled each other in their contempt of luxury, their unwearied diligence in business, and their utter unscrupulousness in the use of such means as they imagined conducive to their ends: both were equally selfish and tyrannical, but Louis rarely shed blood unless necessity appeared to require it, while Charles was by nature sanguinary and ferocious. Edward of England, unlike either, was handsome in person, gay, voluptuous, and indolent, except some great occasion called for exertion, when he proved himself deficient neither in energy, courage, nor talent.

Notwithstanding the threatening aspect which the close alliance between Burgundy and England gave to his affairs, Louis, having now nearly dissolved the "Confederacy for the Public Good," by treating separately

^b Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. xi., cap. 159. Rym. Fœd., tom. xi., p. 615.

with most of its members, induced Duke Charles to hold an interview with him at Peronne, one of the towns ceded to Burgundy by the treaty of Conflans. Charles appeared there at the head of a powerful and well-armed force; Louis, on the contrary, either persuaded by the treacherous advice of his prime minister, the Cardinal Balue, or wishing to make a favourable impression on Charles by the appearance of a perfect reliance on the safe conduct he had sent him, threw himself with an escort of only eighty archers and fifty horsemen into the power of a rival, by whom he was both hated and feared*. It is possible, however, that the effect on the mind of Charles, who, sincere and confiding himself, loved the semblance of it in others, might have been such as to justify a step so extraordinary, had not an event totally unexpected by Louis roused against him the irritable passions of his rival to the highest pitch. The Liegeois, immediately on the death of Philip, had again revolted; but being defeated by Charles in a pitched battle, the city soon after surrendered, when it was dismantled, and deprived of its artillery and ammunition. Louis, before he resolved on renewing the truce with Burgundy, had sent emissaries to incite the inhabitants of Liege to a new insurrection; but upon the opening of the conferences, he despatched fresh instructions, commanding all movements in Liege to be suspended till further orders. It was no longer time: the Liegeois had already taken up arms, seized and imprisoned the bishop, putting to death sixteen canons, with other noble persons attached to him, and made themselves masters of Tongres. The news was brought to Charles a few days after the arrival of Louis at Peronne, with

* Commynes, liv. ii., chap. 5. Preuves sur Commynes,

the addition, that the emissaries of the King of France were present in the camp of the rebels^d. In the first transports of his ungovernable fury, Charles loudly proclaimed Louis a traitor and knave, commanded the gates of the town to be instantly closed, and the king to be detained a prisoner in the castle. For three days and nights the excess of his passion would not allow him to take any repose, or to decide upon one of the many projects of vengeance which presented themselves to his mind; and if, during this time, he had received the smallest encouragement from those around him, there is no doubt that the life of his sovereign would have fallen a sacrifice. Happily, however, none of Charles's confidential ministers counselled him to resort to violent measures; and Louis, following the advice of some secret friend, (probably the historian himself, to whom we are indebted for the account of this curious transaction,) manifested the utmost readiness to consent to all the demands imposed on him by Charles, who, on his part, received intelligence that a French army was advancing towards Peronne, to rescue or avenge their sovereign. The treaty, therefore, was concluded without difficulty: by it, those of Arras and Conflans were confirmed, the unmolested enjoyment of the herring fishery was secured to the Netherlanders, and Louis was obliged to promise that he would assist Charles in person to chastise the rebellious Liegeois. The circumstances in which the king was placed did not permit him to refuse this injurious and shameful article; and it was not until he had beheld the city of his allies taken by storm, and abandoned to the pillage of a brutal and rapacious soldiery, that he was permitted

^d Commynes, liv. ii., chap. 7. Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., tom. i., liv. 5, p. 378—380.

to return to France^e. Charles, on his departure from Liege, caused the whole city, except the churches and houses of the ecclesiastics, to be burnt down, and a vast number of the inhabitants to be drowned^f.

But the events which occurred not long after in 1470 England, indemnified Louis for the mortification he endured on this occasion, proving as much a source of satisfaction to him, as of anxiety and difficulty to his rival. Edward IV., brother-in-law of Charles, had, by his marriage with Elizabeth Grey, and the favour he had shown to the different members of her family, estranged many of his friends and partizans, particularly Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his crown. Warwick, therefore, having gained over the king's brother, George, duke of Clarence, by a marriage with his eldest daughter, these two noblemen joined with several others of the disaffected in raising a body of troops to dethrone Edward, and restore Henry VI. to his kingdom; for which purpose, Louis, who held a watchful eye upon the transactions in England, promised his active assistance. Their enterprise, however, proved abortive; and they found themselves obliged to disband their forces and retire into Devonshire, whence they sailed toward Calais, of which Warwick was governor. Here they were refused admission by Vauclerc, the deputy-governor, and being forced again to put to sea, seized several Dutch merchant ships, besides the whole of the Dutch and Flemish fleet, returning from Rochelle^g. The fact that some French ships, sent to meet Warwick and Clarence, had mainly contributed to this capture,

^e Commynes, liv. ii., chap. 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14. Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. i., p. 89. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 159.

^f Ægid. de Roya, ad ann. 1468, p. 100. Com., liv. ii., chap. 14.

^g Com., liv. iii., chap. 4.

and their having been permitted to bring their prizes into the port of Honfleur, enraged the Duke of Burgundy to the highest degree; he declared to Louis, that he should consider the protection afforded to the English nobles as an infraction of the treaty of Peronne, and wrote a threatening letter to the Archbishop of Narbonne and the bastard of Bourbon, then at the head of the admiralty of France*. Nor did he allow his anger to evaporate in words, but speedily equipped a fleet, which, under the command of Henry van Borselen, lord of Veere, drove the ships belonging to Warwick to the coast of Normandy, and forced the crews to land; a sharp encounter between the English and Netherlanders, ended in favour of the latter; several of the English vessels were burnt, and ten of the largest brought as prizes into the ports of Zealand^b.

Louis, fearing further hostilities on the part of Charles, if he allowed Warwick to remain longer in France, found it advisable to insist on his immediate return to England, when Borselen again put to sea, to prevent his landing in that kingdom. A storm, however, dispersed the Netherland fleet, and Warwick came safely to anchor in the harbour of Dartmouth. Edward, immersed in indolent pleasures, had neglected to take timely precautions for his own safety, and the party of Warwick increased within a few days after his arrival to 60,000 strong. The king advanced to

^b Reigersberg, ii. deel., bl. 359. Velius Hoorn, bl. 53.

* The letter, strongly characteristic of the writer, was conceived in these terms:—"Archbishop, and you Admiral!—The ships which you say were sent by the king to meet the English, have already attacked the fleet of my subjects returning to my states. But, by St. George! if you do not see to this, I myself, by the help of God, will take order for it, without waiting for your permission, your reasons, or your justice, for they are too arbitrary and too tedious."—Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.*, tom. ii., liv. 6, p. 12, 13.

meet the rebel forces near Nottingham, where, as the two armies lay encamped close to each other, a portion of Warwick's troops suddenly attacked the king's camp by night. In the confusion and surprise, the royal forces, scarcely attempting any resistance, were scattered in every direction; and Edward himself had barely time to escape, with a small retinue, to Lynn, in Norfolk, where some Dutch ships were fortunately lying, in one of which he embarked, and made sail with all speed towards Holland. Evading the pursuit of some vessels belonging to the Hanse Towns, the king and his followers landed in safety near Alkmaar. Here he found Louis van Brugges, lord of Gruythuyzen, the stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, who received him with courtesy, conducted him to the Hague, and provided necessaries for himself and his followers; since in the hurry of his flight, the king was unable to secure either his money or jewels, and had been obliged to reward the services of the skipper who conveyed him over with the cloak, trimmed with costly fur, which he then woreⁱ. The news of his arrival was anything rather than agreeable to Charles, who, it is said, would have been far better pleased to hear of his brother-in-law's death, than of his safe landing^k. He was, as far as personal inclinations went, attached to the family of Lancaster, with which he was connected through his mother, Isabella of Portugal; and it was from motives of policy alone that he had allied himself with the house of York^l. He declared, therefore, that he was by no means to be regarded as hostile to Henry VI., his kinsman, since he had no intention whatever of meddling in the contests for the English crown. Finding, however, that his advances were not attended with the desired effect, of weakening the alliance of

ⁱ Com., liv. iii., chap. 5. ^k Idem, chap. 6. ^l Idem, chap. 4.

Henry with Louis XI., Charles secretly furnished his brother-in-law with a sum of 50,000 florins, and provided funds for the equipment of four large vessels at the port of Veere, in Zealand; but fearful of drawing on himself a war with France and England united, he, at the same time, publicly forbade any of his subjects to aid or serve the dethroned king. The Dutch ships being joined by fourteen vessels from the Hanse Towns, hired and paid by Charles, Edward set sail with this fleet to England, where he was restored to the
1471 throne by a revolution as sudden as that which had the year before precipitated him from it. He did not forget, in his renewed prosperity, the services of those who had so effectually assisted him in his adversity; he made Henry van Borselen, commander of the fleet which brought him to England, his chamberlain and a member of the privy council; and in the next year created the Lord of Gruythuyzen, earl of Winchester, with permission to quarter the arms of England in the corner of his shield^{m*}.

While Henry VI. was yet upon the throne of England Louis of France concluded with him a truce for ten years, both parties engaging to assist each other against their respective enemies. As this agreement was chiefly directed against Charles of Burgundy, Louis, having obtained from an assembly of the nobles of France a decision that the treaty of Peronne was contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and that the king was, moreover, discharged from his obligation to observe it, by the subsequent misconduct

^m Com., liv. iii., chap. 6. Acta Pub., tom. v., par. 3, p. 25.

* The permission to wear the whole, or part of the arms of a royal or noble family, was not uncommon, as a reward for some eminent service. —Velly, Hist. de France, tom. v., p. 77.

of Charles, immediately began to prepare for hostilities^a. The campaign was opened by the surrender of 1470 St. Quentin and Amiens into the hands of Louis, to the latter of which Charles shortly after laid siege; but after remaining before its walls for six weeks, he found himself unable to effect its reduction, and consented to a truce until the following spring. During the interval, he summoned an assembly of the states of the Netherlands at Brussels, and represented to them, so forcibly, that the loss of these towns had been occasioned by his not having troops in readiness to take the field, that he induced them to grant the sum of 120,000 lis d'or for the purpose of keeping a body of 800 horse in constant pay to defend the frontiers, and thus formed the nucleus of a standing military force, which his successors lost no opportunity of seeking to increase^o.

At the expiration of the truce the duke marched 1471 with so numerous an army towards Amiens, that Louis thought it advisable to avoid giving him battle, contenting himself with being able to cut off the supplies from his camp; and a short campaign was terminated in the October of the same year, by a treaty confirming that of Peronne, as well as the treaties of Arras and Conflans^p.

It was, doubtless, the change of affairs in England which prompted Louis to accept terms so disadvantageous; since Charles's army was reduced to the greatest straits for want of provisions, and could not much longer have kept the field. The condition, moreover, of a considerable portion of the duke's dominions was such as to render him greatly desirous of a peace.

^a Rym. Fœd., tom. xii., p. 685. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 108.

^o Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v, cap. 6.

Com., liv. iii., chap. 2. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 116.

The heavy imposts which his expensive undertakings obliged him to lay on the people, had long excited murmurs loud and general; especially when, in order to answer his frequent petitions, the governments of the different towns found themselves obliged to impose duties on articles of daily and necessary consumption. Among the rest, the senate of Hoorn had laid an excise of fifteen pence upon every barrel of beer brewed without the walls, and obliged the brewers within the town to purchase a license from the duke. The people, however, stoutly refused either to drink the town beer, or to pay the tax upon that brought from the country; and the magistrates, finding themselves unable to carry the measure into effect, applied to the duke for his support.

The council of Holland sent three commissioners to assist the senate in enforcing the excise, which no sooner reached the ears of the people, than they assembled in numbers before the town hall, the weavers, fullers, and fishers, each under their respective banners, threatening death to the commissioners, and even to the burgomasters themselves. They likewise dragged out all the barrels of beer they could find into the market-place, broke in the tops, and, dipping out the liquor in bowls and platters, shouted insultingly that, "the masters must now keep a sharp look out, and reckon how much each had to pay to the excise." The deputies were secretly sent out of the town, and the senate for some days took no measure to still the uproar, avoiding any mention of excise, and satisfying themselves with noting down the names of the ringleaders. The tumult thus died away of itself, when the attorney-general came with some vessels into the harbour before the town, with which he surprised and captured the fishermen as they were in the act of putting out to sea

to fish. He then, with the help of the schout, burgo-masters, and sheriffs, seized all the fullers and weavers that were to be found in Hoorn, many having already made their escape. Eight of the principal rioters were tried at the Hague, and executed: the rest released themselves from imprisonment by the payment of heavy fines; while sentence of perpetual banishment was pronounced against all such as had fled^a. Cloth-weaving, which had hitherto been a flourishing manufacture at Hoorn, fell afterwards into decay, owing to numbers of weavers and fullers who were driven from their homes on this occasion. The duke afterwards published two edicts, wherein he commanded, *on pain of death*, that the excise should be paid not only on beer, but likewise on grain, salt, and wine, as was done in other places^r; and thus doubly sacrificed the privileges of the town, first by making the non-payment of the excise a capital offence, and taking it out of the jurisdiction of the municipal court; and next, by enforcing, on his own authority, the payment of a tax which the senate alone had the right of imposing.

Notwithstanding the warning afforded by Hoorn, similar commotions arose from a like cause in other towns; at Zierikzee, a priest, named John Simonson, and the bailiff, Michael van Heenvliet, were murdered by the exasperated populace. The duke's natural brother Anthony, and Adolphus van Ravestein, with the assistance of the Lord of Veere, easily quelled the sedition, causing some of the chief movers to be seized and beheaded. Most of the guilty fled, yet the punishment inflicted by Duke Charles on the whole town was not the less severe; the inhabitants being forced

^a Velius Hoorn, p. 46—49.

^r Idem, p. 50—52.

to receive a foreign garrison, and to pay a fine of 30,000 guilders^a.

The truce with France was scarcely concluded, when the refusal of Louis to ratify it caused the war to break out afresh. It became now more than usually oppressive to the Netherlanders, from the injury it inflicted on their fisheries, which were constantly interrupted by the ships of war that Louis had fitted out to cruize for this purpose about the coast of Holland
 1472 Eighteen herring-busses were captured at one time, and the crews obliged to pay a ransom of 100 golden crowns each; but, on the other hand, some Holland and Zealand vessels, under the command of Paul van Borselen, natural son of the Lord of Veere*, fell in with the French fleet near the coast of Scotland, and obliged it to retire into the ports of France^b.

Charles, meanwhile, invaded France, took the towns of Nesle and Roye, and though unsuccessful before Beauvais, afterwards mastered some small places in the land of Caux, in Normandy. But the advantages he gained in France were counterbalanced by the ravages which the French army, under the Count of Auvergne, committed in Burgundy, and the conquests made by Louis over his ally, the Duke of
 1473 Brittany, which obliged this prince to consent to a truce for a year, wherein Charles himself was included^c.

The duke now found employment of a more important nature than any results likely to be obtained by hostilities with France. The duchy of Guelderland had devolved, by female succession, upon Arnold van

^a Boxtorn op Reigersberg, bl. 273. Snouck Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 161.

^b Com., liv. iii., chap. 9. Velius Hoorn, p. 53.

^c Com., liv. iii., chap. 9, 10, 11. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 121.

* Henry van Borselen, the same who had afforded such efficient aid to Edward IV. of England.

Egmond, a descendant of the most ancient and noble family in Holland. This prince, now advanced in years, had the misfortune, besides losing the affection of his subjects by his negligent government, to be at variance with his young wife and his son Adolphus van Egmond. Instigated by his step-mother, Adolphus placed himself at the head of the disaffected party, caused his father to be seized in his palace at Nimeguen, at the moment of his going to repose, forced him to walk five miles barefoot on the ice, and finally immured him in a prison at Buuren, where he detained him more than five years.

From the depth of his dungeon, however, the unhappy prince found means to make his complaint reach the ears of the Pope, and the emperor, his suzerain, by whom the Duke of Burgundy was authorised to hear and decide between the parties. Adolphus, thinking he should find a favourable judge in the duke, readily submitted to his arbitration, and for this purpose brought his prisoner to Heusden. In a conference held there, Charles adjudged the duchy of Guelderland with the county of Zutphen to Adolphus, while the old duke was to retain nothing but his title, the city of Grave, and a pension of 6000 florins. But the unnatural son refused to accede to these terms, declaring that "he would rather throw his father into a well and himself after him, than allow him to possess any portion of his states^v." Perceiving the impression which this impious speech made on the minds of those present, he quitted the town the same night in disguise; but was discovered, arrested, and sent prisoner to Vilvoorden, where he was kept in confinement during the remainder of Charles's life.

^v J. J. Pontani Hist. Geld., lib. ix., p. 517, et seq. Commynes, liv. iv., chap. 1. Meyer, lib. xvii., ad ann. 1470, p. 349.

The old Duke Arnold could not, however, reinstate himself in his dominions, without the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, and even then, it was uncertain whether he would be able long to retain his authority; for this reason, therefore, and perhaps to punish his ungrateful son, he sold the duchy of Guelderland and the county of Zutphen to the Duke of Burgundy for 92,000 crowns of gold, besides the expenses already incurred by Charles; but as Duke Arnold died within two months after the conclusion of the treaty, the sum stipulated was never paid. Adolphus of Guelderland was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and declared to have forfeited all his rights to the duchy, by a court composed of the Knights of the Golden Fleece: and the claim of the Duke of Berg and Juliers, descended from a collateral branch of the family of the original Dukes of Guelderland, was bought by Charles for the sum of 80,000 Rhenish guilders^w.

As the Duke of Burgundy did not expect that this transfer of their country would be very palatable to the Guelderlanders, he, having first obtained the confirmation of the emperor, went to receive their allegiance at the head of a force sufficiently powerful to silence all opposition. Nevertheless, the citizens of Nimeguen, to whom was entrusted the guardianship of the children of Adolphus, Charles, and Philippa, ventured to resist his summons, and withstood several murderous assaults; but they were at length forced to surrender, and to pay a fine of 80,000 florins to redeem themselves from pillage. After the reduction of Nimeguen, Charles was readily acknowledged by the rest of the duchy, and in the same year did homage to the Emperor

^w Pontanus, Hist. Geld., lib. ix., p. 549—552. Pont. Heut., Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 7.

Frederick III. at Treves, for his newly acquired states*. Thus the whole of the Netherlands, with the exception of Friezland, were at this time under the dominion of the house of Burgundy; but the possession of Guelderland, which Charles so eagerly coveted, entailed a long and ruinous war upon his successors.

The favourite object of Charles's ambition was now to be ranked among the sovereigns of Europe, and to revive in his own person the ancient title of King of Burgundy*. He obtained the emperor's consent to invest him with this much-desired dignity by promising his only daughter and sole heiress, Mary, in marriage to Maximilian, son of Frederic, and a meeting was agreed upon between the two princes, to be held at Treves, for the purpose of performing the ceremony of the coronation, as well as that of the marriage. Both repaired thither at the time appointed, with a splendid retinue†; the crown, the sceptre, and the chair of state were already prepared, when the emperor insisted that the marriage of his son with the Lady Mary should be first solemnized; suspecting, not without reason, that Charles, when once crowned, would never fulfil his part of the engagement, since he had often been heard to say, that "On the day of his daughter's marriage, he would shave his head, and become a

* Meyer, lib. xvii., ad ann. 1473, p. 357, 358. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 7.

* He, however, possessed no part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which comprised Franche Comté, Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnois, Savoy, Brescia, and great part of Switzerland.

† The attendants of the emperor were more numerous, and excelled those of Charles in nobility of birth; but those of the latter far outshone the imperial train in luxury and magnificence. Snol., Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 163. Charles himself wore a robe of 100,000 ducats value. Meyer, Ann. Fl., lib. xvii., ad ann. 1473, p. 370.

monk*." Charles was equally determined that the coronation should precede the marriage; and the coldness and mistrust which this dispute created in the mind of Frederic was so great, that he suddenly quitted Treves, leaving the duke overwhelmed with confusion and anger, an object at once of derision and suspicion to the German princes[†].

Thus defeated in his favourite project, Charles was now obliged to turn his ambitious views to another quarter, and since he could not raise his states to a kingdom, he sought to extend them still more widely, by the possession of all the fortified places on the left side of the Rhine, from Nimeguen, where this river enters the Netherlands, to Basle on the confines of Switzerland. Sigismund, duke of Austria, had in 1468 pledged to him, for the sum of 100,000 Rhenish guilders, some territories in Alsace, with the fort of Ferette, situated in the immediate vicinity of Basle; and this, it was supposed, gave him the first idea of a scheme so wild and impracticable, which he had not even the prudence to conceal, and which, as it appeared to him, an opportunity now presented itself for realizing[‡].

On the occasion of some disputes between Robert, archbishop of Cologne, and the chapter of the diocese, the citizens of Cologne siding with the latter, refused to acknowledge the authority of the archbishop, and chose Herman of Hesse as protector of the see. Her-

† Duclos Hist. de Louis XI., tom. ii., liv. vii., p. 164. Commynes, liv. ii., chap. 8. Pont. Heut., lib. v., cap. 8.

‡ Commynes, liv. iv., chap. i., p. 86.

* Besides Maximilian, he had entertained proposals of marriage with his daughter, from the Duke Nicholas of Calabria, the Duke of Guyenne, and Philibert, duke of Savoy, although he never intended bringing any to a conclusion. Commynes, liv. iii., chap. 8.

man fortified himself in Nuys, and Robert, being thus shut out from the two principal towns of his diocese, had recourse to the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy, who, regarding the possession of Nuys as the first step towards the attainment of his object, eagerly embraced the proposal of laying siege to it, made him by the archbishop^a. To guard himself from any enterprise on the part of Louis, he prolonged the truce with France until the May of the next year. The friendly 1474 relations of Burgundy with England, had suffered some little interruption in consequence of the duke's ungenerous conduct towards Edward when obliged to take refuge in his states; but the political interests of the two princes did not admit of the continuance of any estrangement between them^b. In the year after Edward's restoration, therefore, the treaty of commerce and amity was renewed, and Charles now obtained from his brother-in-law, an aid of thirteen men-at-arms and 1000 English archers, still esteemed the best in Europe. In order, moreover, to be prepared when the truce with France should expire, he made another treaty with Edward, engaging himself to assist him with 6000 troops in recovering Normandy and Guienne, and in making good his claims upon the kingdom of France, unjustly possessed by Louis^c.

July
25,
1474

Shortly after the conclusion of this agreement, Charles marched in person to the siege of Nuys, with an army of 60,000 strong; imagining, doubtless, that at the head of such a force, he should have completed the apparently easy task of reducing it, before the King of England's plans were ripe for execution, or

^a Commynes, liv. iv., chap. 1, p. 86. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 8.

^b Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 171. Commynes, liv. iii., chap. 8. Rym. Fœd., tom. xi., p. 737-8.

^c Rym. Fœd., tom. xi., p. 791, 808.

the truce with France expired. He was soon undeceived. Herman of Hesse, and his brother the Landgrave of Hesse, had so well fortified and provisioned the town, and it was defended with such steady valour by the garrison and citizens, that despairing of carrying it by assault, the duke was necessitated to turn the siege into a blockade. The expence proved enormous; and Charles, unable to extort sufficient funds from his exhausted subjects of the lay community, attempted to impose a tax on the clergy. Those of Zealand, and some few in Holland, complied with the demand; but the greater number found pretexts for delay until after his death. He, however, seized the silver plate in several of the churches, which he caused to be melted down; and levied a contribution of 13,883 livres (tournois) on the newly-acquired province of Guelderland. Holland contributed a subsidy of 14,300 pounds (Flemish); and Zealand the small sum of 2650 pounds only, on account of the injury lately done to the dikes by an irruption of the sea. The whole military force of Holland and Zealand was summoned to the camp, and the payment of the scutage* strictly enforced from all the vassals who were unable to attend^d.

Notwithstanding these mighty preparations, month 1475 after month passed away, and found Charles still engaged in this tedious and unprofitable enterprise: the time had now elapsed when he should have afforded the promised aid to Edward of England, who, in compliance with the terms of the treaty, had entered

* Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 10. Groote Chronyk, divis. xxx., cap. 84—91. Boxhorn, Nederl. Hist., bl. 293 et seq. Idem, op Reigersberg, deel. ii., bl. 261—279.

* Money paid in lieu of military service, and called in Holland "Ruytergeld."

Picardy at the head of 1500 lances and 15,000 archers. But Charles, knowing that the besieged began to suffer severely from scarcity of provisions, and having entrenched himself so strongly that the emperor, though he advanced to within a mile of Nuys, accompanied by nearly all the princes of the empire, with an army of 60,000 men, was unable to throw any succours into it, still hoped for a speedy surrender, and determined, with his characteristic obstinacy, to persevere in his attempt, although he was well aware that it had raised him up enemies on every side^e. The Swiss, dreading the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince, and irritated by numerous insults and injuries they had sustained from Hagenbach, the duke's governor at Ferette, formed a league with the towns of the Upper Rhine, entered into an alliance with the emperor and Louis of France, and under the auspices of the latter concluded a treaty of mutual defence with Sigismund, duke of Austria. Louis had likewise excited against Charles the hostility of Reynold, duke of Lorraine, who invaded Luxemburg, and made himself master of several places in that duchy^f. At the expiration of the truce between France and Burgundy, Louis took possession of Montdidier, Roye, Corbie, and other towns belonging to the duke in Picardy; and Charles, surrounded by difficulties, was glad to save his credit by consenting to the proposition of the pope's legate, that Nuys should be sequestrated, and placed in the hands of the pope, until the dispute between the bishop and Herman of Hesse should be decided^g.

^e Commines, liv. iv., chap. 2. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 10. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 165.

^f Commines, liv. iv., chap. 2; liv. v., chap. 1. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 175—183.

^g Commines, liv. iv., chap. 3, 5. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 10.

Meanwhile Edward of England, finding that he received no assistance from his ally, deemed himself no longer bound by the article of the treaty with Charles, which stipulated that neither party should make peace without consent of the other, and therefore hearkened to the terms of accommodation proposed by Louis, who promised to pay to Edward the sum of 75,000 crowns, immediately upon the withdrawal of the English troops from France, and an annual stipend of 50,000 crowns during their joint lives: it was agreed, besides, that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward. The King of England reserved to the Duke of Burgundy the right of acceding to the truce if he so desired. This Charles at first haughtily refused; but as the navy of France had inflicted considerable losses on the commerce of his Dutch subjects, and he was eager, moreover, to wreak his vengeance on the Duke of Lorraine and the Swiss, he afterwards consented to a truce for nine years, which was concluded early in the month of September, at Vervins^h. It was the cause of no small gratification to the Duke of Burgundy that the conduct of Reynold of Lorraine had afforded a pretext for declaring war against him, since the conquest of this duchy, situated between Luxemburg and Burgundy, was an object highly flattering to his ambition. Hardly two months elapsed, after the conclusion of the truce with France, when he invaded Lorraine, and in an incredibly short time subdued the whole duchy, except Nancy, the capital, which sustained a siege of nine weeks, but was at length forced to surrenderⁱ.

1476 He next turned his arms against the Swiss, the

^h Rym. Fœd., tom. xii., p. 17, 19. Commynes, liv. iv., chap. 6, 8. Velius Hoorn, bl. 55. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 134.

ⁱ Commynes, liv. iv., chap. 12.

objects at once of his deepest hatred and contempt. In pursuance of the terms of their alliance with Sigismund of Austria, they had assisted him to recover from Charles the fortress of Ferette, but ignorant of their own strength, they afterwards sought, by every means in their power, to appease the resentment of the latter. They offered to break off all their alliances with other states, and to serve in the wars of Burgundy with 6000 men; they represented in the most moving terms, that their poor and barren country was unworthy of his notice, and that all the riches it possessed would not suffice to furnish spurs and bridles for his army*. Yet did their submissiveness rather excite the disdain than soften the anger of Charles. Heedless of their prayers, as soon as his army was in readiness to march, he invaded their country, and laid siege to Granson, on the lake of Neufchatel. The garrison surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared, notwithstanding which, Charles ordered them all to be put to death. Immediately upon the capture of Granson, a body of Swiss troops was observed marching up to its relief: the duke, in opposition to the advice of all his officers, advanced to meet them before they had quitted the defiles of the mountains, and engaging in a position where his cavalry had no room to act, his vanguard was quickly driven back, and by its retreat threw the remainder of the army into confusion. The troops with one accord commenced an instantaneous flight, leaving behind the whole of their

* The sagacious Louis XI. estimated their strength more truly than either themselves or the duke. On hearing of the intended invasion, he remarked, "I wonder my cousin of Burgundy did not make a truce with me for eighteen years. He is ignorant certainly of how heavy a burden he has taken on his shoulders, or of what a people he has determined to invade." Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. v., cap. 12.

tents, ammunition, and baggage^k. The mortification of Charles at this unseemly rout was still further enhanced by the cutting jest of his court fool, who, having frequently heard him draw parallels between himself and Hannibal, cried out, as they ran away together with all the speed they could make, "Master, we are well Hannibalized now^l." The army was saved by the cupidity of the Swiss, who, unable to resist the temptation offered by the plunder of the Burgundian camp, ceased to pursue the fugitives. Yet they were so ignorant of the value of the booty they acquired, that a diamond belonging to the duke, which was afterwards the second in the French crown, and estimated at the value of 1,800,000 livres, was sold amongst them more than once for a guilder^m.

The consequences of this battle were as disastrous as its termination. The Duchess-dowager of Savoy, the Duke of Milan, and Renée of Provence, king of Sicily, who had hitherto rejected all the advances of Louis, immediately forsook the alliance of Burgundy for that of France, while several of the German towns, instead of persisting as before in a doubtful neutrality, openly declared against Charlesⁿ. To wipe out the remembrance of his disgrace, the Duke of Burgundy having reassembled his scattered troops, and reinforced them with a large number of mercenaries from Savoy and Piedmont, laid siege to Morat near Berne. He had been before the town about ten days, when the Swiss army, commanded by Reynold of Lorraine, came down upon him. Untaught by the last severe lesson,

^k Com., liv. iv., chap. 12 ; liv. v., chap. i. Snol. Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 166.

^l Duclos, tom. ii., liv. 8, p. 214.

^m Idem, p. 215. Pont. Heut., lib. v., cap. xii.

ⁿ Communes, liv. vi., chap. 1, 2.

Charles, instead of awaiting them in his entrenchments, hurried forward to give them battle. The consequence was a second defeat, more fatal and bloody than the former, above 16,000 men being slain on the Burgundian side^{o*}.

Anguish, spite, and shame, at this overthrow, raged in the breast of Charles with such violence, that he fell into a fit of sickness, which appeared to paralyze his powers both of mind and body†. For six weeks he lay, refusing alike consolation or companionship, until the news of the capture of Nancy, by Duke Reynold, aroused him at length from his benumbing trance^p.

He advanced by hasty marches to besiege the town, which defended itself with the most undaunted courage, and successfully resisted all his attempts to master it. The inhabitants were reduced to the lowest extremity of famine, and had been forced for some time to feed on dogs, cats, and even reptiles, when Reynold of Lorraine, with an army of French, German, and Swiss troops, encamped not far from the walls, with the design of forcing Charles to raise the siege. Reynold held a secret correspondence with one Nicholas Campobasso, a Neapolitan officer in the Burgundian camp, in whom Charles reposed a blind and fatal confidence‡. On the fifth of January, 1477, the two

^o Commines, liv. v., chap. 3. Pont Heut., lib. v., cap. 12.

^p Idem, chap. 5.

* The continuator of Monstrelet says 20,700 ; but the numbers stated by the different historians vary from 8000 to 20,000. Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., liv. viii., p. 224.

† The effect of grief on his constitution was very remarkable ; he was usually of so sanguine and choleric a temperament, as to be obliged to forego entirely the use of wine ; whereas, at this time, it was found necessary to administer to him strong wine, without water, and to apply active stimulants to the vital parts of the body. Com., liv. v., chap. 5.

‡ It is said, that the treachery of this man was the consequence of Charles's violence of temper : being importuned by him, on one occasion,

armies came to an engagement, which had scarcely commenced, when Campobasso, with 400 men-at-arms, went over to the enemy. After this desertion, the discomfiture of an army, twice defeated, and totally dispirited, was easy: the flight, begun by a few traitors whom Campobasso had purposely left among the 1477 Burgundian troops, was speedy and universal; 3000 men were left dead on the field, among whom were the principal nobles of Burgundy and the Netherlands. Charles himself was slain, but in what manner is not certainly known; it is affirmed, however, that he received his death-wound at the hand of a traitor of Campobasso's party*. It was not till three days after, that the body of the unhappy prince was found, wounded in three places, and stripped entirely naked; his face frozen to the ground, and so disfigured, that it was only by some distinctive marks, such as the extreme length of his nails, (which he had left uncut since the defeat at Morat,) and the scar of a wound received at the battle of Montlhéri, that he could be recognized^a. He was honourably buried at Nancy, by command of the Duke of Lorraine; but the Netherlands could not for a long time be persuaded to believe in the report of his death, imagining that he

^a Com., liv. v., chap. 7, 8. Meyer, lib. xvii., ad ann. 1476, p. 373. Duclos, tom. ii., liv. 8, p. 227. Pont. Heut., lib. v., chap. 13, 14.

for money to pay his troops, Charles grew angry, and inflicted on him a blow, accompanied by threats, an injury which the revengeful Italian never forgave. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 167. This is in some degree confirmed by De la Marche, who says that the Count of Campobasso deserted Charles "pour certain deniers que le comte disoit que le duc lui devoit." Liv. ii., chap. 8.

* Others say, that in attempting to leap a small brook in his flight, his horse fell in, when he was killed by Claudius Beaumont, a Lorraine nobleman, in pursuit of him, not knowing who he was. Pont. Heut., lib. v., cap. 13, p. 146.

had either been carried prisoner to France, or had escaped in safety to Germany, whence he would return at some future day, more terrible than ever^r. Charles, although three times married, left only one daughter, by Isabella of Portugal, Mary, born February 8th, 1457.

The intelligence of Charles's death no sooner reached the ears of Louis, than he hastened to take possession of the duchy of Burgundy, which he re-annexed to France, according to the terms of the grant made by Charles V. to his brother Philip, which provided, that in default of heirs male, this fief should revert to the French crown^s. Before the end of the month of February, also, the towns in Picardy, that had been surrendered to the Duke of Burgundy, opened their gates to Louis, and he was already preparing for a descent into Flanders and Artois, intending, it is said, to make himself master of the whole of the states belonging to Mary. Shortly after her accession, the nobles, to whose guardianship she had been committed by Charles before his departure*, summoned a general assembly of the states of the Netherlands at Ghent, to devise means for arresting the enterprises of Louis, and for raising funds to support the war with France, as well as to consider the state of affairs in the provinces^t†. Charles, and his father, Philip, had

^r Snoi Rer. Bat., lib. xi., p. 168. Meyer, lib. xvii., ad ann. 1476, p. 373.

^s Com., liv. vi., chap. 1. Pont. Heut. Rer. Bur., lib. ii., cap. 2.

^t Com., liv. v., chap. 11, 13. Pont. Heut. Rer. Austr., lib. i., cap. 1.

* Among these, the principal were, John, duke of Cleves, Adolphus of Cleves, Lord of Ravestein, Guido Brimæus, the Sieur D'Imbercourt, and William Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy.

† This is the first regular assembly of the states-general of the Netherlands: the county of Holland, before this time, does not appear to have sent deputies to the assemblies of the other states. In negotiations with foreign powers, it treated separately. Rym. Fœd., tom. x., p. 806—849.

exercised in the Netherlands a species of government far more arbitrary than the inhabitants had until then been accustomed to ; and in the measures they pursued, the chartered franchises, and prescriptive customs inherent in the constitution of these states, were almost, if not altogether, lost sight of. It now appeared that a favourable opportunity offered itself for rectifying these abuses ; and the assembly, therefore, made the consideration of them a preliminary to the grant of any supplies for the war^u. Upon the proposition being made to assist in defending the duchess against the ambition and evil designs of the King of France, who had, without right or justice, possessed himself of several towns of Burgundy, the states testified every disposition to render all the service in their power to their new sovereign ; but at the same time declared, that “the provinces were exhausted and impoverished by the wars of Duke Charles, and that they ought rather to be relieved than further oppressed,” adding, that, “for many years, great encroachments had been made on the liberties and privileges of the provinces and towns which they desired to see restored^v.”

They insisted so firmly on this resolution, that Mary, finding they were determined to refuse any subsidies till their grievances were redressed, consented to grant charters of privileges to all the states of the Netherlands. That of Holland and Zealand, commonly called the “Great Charter,” contained these provisions : that the duchess should not marry without the consent of the nobles of her family, and of the states ; that some of the later subsidies demanded by Duke Charles should be remitted ; that the duchess should bestow the offices of the county on natives only ; that no one

^u Com., liv. v., chap. 16.

^v Groot Plakaatb., ii. deel., bl. 658.

should be able to hold two at the same time; nor should they be let out to farm. The council of Holland was henceforth to consist of eight besides the stadtholder, six Hollanders and two Zealanders, and two supernumeraries, without salary, likewise natives; and no cause properly belonging to the jurisdiction of the municipal courts should be brought before the council, except by way of appeal. The right "de non evocando," or of not being summoned to trial out of the boundaries of their province, should be preserved to all the inhabitants inviolate. The governments of the towns were to be appointed and changed according to the ancient custom*. The towns might hold assemblies with each other, or with the states of the rest of the Netherlands, where and as often as they might judge necessary. No new tolls or other burdens should be imposed without consent of the states, and the freedom of trade and commerce should be preserved. Neither the duchess nor her successors should declare war, offensive or defensive, without consent of the states; and in case they did so, none should be bound to serve in such war, notwithstanding any custom, or any command of the late duke to the contrary. The Dutch language should be used in all decrees and letters-patent. No commands of the sovereign should prevail against the privileges of the towns. No coin should be struck, nor any alteration made in the standard of money, without the advice and approbation of the states, and the mint should continue, as of old time, at Dordrecht. The towns should not be forced to contribute to any petition unless they had first consented to it; and the

* The power of the counts to change the governments of the towns, out of the due course, had been frequently exercised, even before the time of Philip, but never recognised by the states.

petition should be demanded of the states by the count in person.

The duchess, and her guardians, John, duke of Cleves, Louis of Bourbon, bishop of Liege, and Adolphus of Cleves, stadtholder-general of the Netherlands, affixed their seals to this charter, which they solemnly swore to observe. The assembly of the states, likewise, appointed a council of regency to assist Mary in the government, and obtained from her a promise, that she would in all cases abide by their advice*. The articles of this charter have been detailed somewhat at length, because it was afterwards a subject of contention between the Dutch and their sovereigns; and the violation of its provisions formed one of the principal reasons alleged for the deposition of Philip II. in the next century. It was insisted, on the part of the princess, that the charter was invalid as obtained from the Duchess Mary while a minor, and in the power of the citizens of Ghent; whereas the people, on the other hand, justly considered that no new privileges were extorted on this occasion, but those only restored which had been granted or recognised by the former counts, and for the most part had formed their rule of government before the accession of foreign princes introduced those arbitrary notions of prerogative, which were received in France, but were in the highest degree unsuitable to the free spirit and institutions of the Netherlanders.

So far the relations between the Netherlanders and their young sovereign were on an amicable footing, although the Ghenters persisted in retaining possession of her person; but events soon occurred which interrupted the apparent harmony between them. While the subject of the charter was under consideration, the

* Groot Plakaat., ii. decl., bl. 658.

duchess, perceiving the sacrifices she must make to gain the support of her subjects in the war with Louis, had sent an embassy to France, consisting of William Hugonet the chancellor, Guy D'Imbercourt, Wolferd van Borselen, lord of Veere, and the stadtholder of Holland, Louis van Gruythuyzen, to treat of peace. Louis, pretending a sincere desire for an accommodation and for the marriage of Mary with the dauphin, by flattering the ambassadors with the hope of obtaining both these objects, induced two of their number, Hugonet and D'Imbercourt, to consent to the preliminary cession of Artois to France. In this particular they went beyond their instructions; and Louis, desiring in fact neither the peace nor the marriage, determined, as a means of breaking off the negotiation, to sacrifice the unhappy ambassadors to the rage of their countrymen, which he had now ample means in his power of exciting.

Shortly after the departure of Mary's ambassadors, the council of regency had also sent two deputies to Louis, Tuteville and Baradot, with instructions to solicit that the king would adhere to the truce for nine years concluded at Vervins, and extend his protection to the heiress of Burgundy. In the first audience they had of Louis, he affected to doubt their powers, as not being recognised by the duchess: on their answering that she had bound herself to govern entirely by the advice of the council, he gave them a letter written by Mary herself, and delivered to him by her ambassadors Hugonet and D'Imbercourt, wherein she declared that her affairs should be conducted according to the counsels of four persons only, the Duchess-dowager of Burgundy, the Lord of Ravestein, Hugonet, and D'Imbercourt, and requesting him to confide all that he wished to communicate to

her, to the two latter only. Angry at finding themselves thus duped, Touteville and Baradot returned to Ghent, and in a full council of the town at which Mary was present, brought forward their complaint, declaring that the tenor of their instructions had been controverted, and their character as ambassadors disavowed, by the private letters of the duchess. Mary at first strenuously denied the fact; but on the production of her letter to the king—the fatal evidence of her duplicity, struck with confusion at the discovery, and with dismay at the treachery of Louis, she remained silent and trembling^x. The Ghenters became furious: they seized Imbercourt and Hugonet, tried them at the council-house, not for the real delinquency of which they had been guilty, but upon an accusation of having assisted in suppressing the privileges of Ghent, and condemned them to death. Upon hearing that the sentence was about to be carried into execution, Mary, accompanied only by an aged priest, rushed into the midst of the crowd assembled round the scaffold, and with floods of tears, and piercing cries of anguish, supplicated that their lives might be spared. Her prayers were unheeded—the fatal blow was struck before her eyes, and the unhappy victims to popular fury died, asserting to the last their innocence^y*. Louis having thus frustrated the negotiations for peace, possessed himself of Arras, Terouenne, and a large portion of Artois; but on the sea, affairs were more prosperous for the Netherlands, since the Hollanders were not only able to protect their own commerce, but likewise to capture twenty large vessels belonging to the enemy,

^x Commynes, liv. v., chap. 15, 16.

^y Commynes, liv. v., chap. 17.

* Louis was deeply grieved at hearing of the fatal consequences of his own act, and made ample provision for the families of both the sufferers, whom he took under his special protection.

and to bring a very considerable booty into their ports. Anxious to provide a general, capable of making head against the French forces, the Ghenters released the parricidal Adolphus of Guelderland from his prison at Vilvoorden, with the design, it is said, of marrying him to the Lady Mary, and gave him the command of an army composed of troops collected from Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. Adolphus marched without delay to the siege of Tournay, where he was slain in a sally made by the garrison, and thus the young duchess was delivered from an union so abhorrent to her feelings. His death, and the rapid advances made by Louis, who had subdued Artois and the county of Boulogne, and made himself master of Bouchain, Quesnoi, and Avennes, induced the states to hasten the marriage of the duchess². Among the numerous suitors whom her late father had encouraged, the only question was now between Maximilian, son of the emperor of Germany, and the dauphin of France. But with respect to the latter—besides the probability that, from the disparity of age between the parties, the princess would despise her youthful bridegroom—who had just reached his eighth year, while Mary was now past twenty, there were many reasons of policy that rendered the marriage little desirable to the king; among the rest, was the offence it must necessarily give to Edward of England, to whose daughter Elizabeth, the infant prince had been contracted for above two years; and Louis would, moreover, have been obliged to receive, as the dower of the princess, Burgundy, Artois, and the rest of her dominions, of which he had already obtained actual possession by conquest. The Ghenters, who, being possessed of the person of

² Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 3, 5, 6. Velius Hoorn, bl. 64. Commynes, liv. v., chap. 14, 15, 17.

the duchess, were the chief agents in this matter, were favourable to Maximilian, and the inclinations of Mary herself were supposed to point in the same direction. The contract, therefore, so abruptly broken off at Treves in 1473 was again renewed, Maximilian was summoned to repair to Ghent, and the marriage was solemnized in the month of August; not, however, with a magnificence by any means suitable to the union of the son of the emperor with the richest heiress in Europe. It is said, indeed, that the poverty of the imperial exchequer was so excessive that the states were obliged to provide funds to defray the expenses of the bridegroom's journey into the Netherlands^a. It was provided, by the marriage treaty, that the children born of this union should inherit the provinces on the death of either parent, and that in default of issue, the succession should devolve immediately on the next heir, and not on the survivor^b. This article was probably inserted to avoid the recurrence of disorders similar to those which the widowhood of Jacoba had entailed on the county of Holland.

1478 Maximilian's first care was to conclude a truce for a year with France, and early in the next spring he took the oath to the towns and provinces, and was acknowledged by them as protector of the Lady Mary and of the county in her name^c. The Guelderlanders, making some ineffectual attempts to obtain the duchy for the young Charles, son of Adolphus, did not take the oath of fealty to Mary and Maximilian until the year 1481^d.

At the expiration of the truce with France, the

^a Mem. d'Oliv. de la Marche, liv. ii., chap. ix., p. 409, 410. Com., liv. vi., chap 3.

^b Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 208.

^c Groot Plakaatb., iv. deel., bl. 7.

^d Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 11.

king opened the campaign with the invasion of Hainault, where Condé and several places of less importance capitulated; but on the approach of Maximilian's army to Valenciennes, Louis, who had no inclination to risk the loss of his acquisitions in a battle, and dreaded lest his continued successes should awaken the hostile jealousy of the emperor and England, abandoned Quesnoi and Cambray, burnt the fortifications of Condé, and consented to the duke's offer of renewing the truce, restoring to him the conquests he had made in Hainault and Franche Comté^e.

The internal dissensions in Holland, which the iron hand of Charles had crushed for a season, again grew rank after his death, and the two parties of hooks and cods renewed their persecution of each other, with a rage and bitterness, that reduced Holland to a state of extreme misery and desolation. The members of each faction, as they gained the temporary ascendancy in the towns, not only thrust out their adversaries from the seats of government, but expelled them from the city itself: even women were driven from their homes with circumstances of violence and cruelty: the villages, no less than the towns, were filled with mistrust and hatred: relatives and neighbours laid wait for each others' lives, while duels and affrays were of daily occurrence^f. Louis van Gruythuyzen had been removed from the stadtholdership a few days after the granting of the great charter, (because, being a Fleming, his continuance in the office was contrary to its provisions,) and his place filled by a native, Wolferd van Borselen, lord of Veere. Wolferd, in order to put a stop to the disorders in Holland, summoned a general assembly of the nobles and towns at

^e Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 8, 9.

^f Velius Hoorn, bl. 60—68.

Rotterdam. As he was supposed to be favourably inclined towards the hooks, John van Reimerswale, the bailiff, pretending that under cover of an assembly, the hooks designed to make themselves masters of the town, called out the schuttery, or burgher guard, and not satisfied with preventing the entrance of the deputies from those towns which belonged to the hook party, forced the stadtholder himself to evacuate Rotterdam. This affront the cods followed up by another outrage. On the occasion of an affray at the Hague between the stadtholder's servants and those of some nobles of their party, they assembled a number of burghers from the neighbouring towns, bombarded, captured, and plundered the court-house, and drove away the horses from the stadtholder's stables. Upon the news of these commotions, Borselen, then at his lordship of Veere, assembled 7000 men from Utrecht and the hook towns of Holland, and marching through Delft to the Hague, repossessed himself of the court-house, and by way of reprisal, caused the houses of the cods to be pillaged. On his departure shortly after for Rotterdam, of which he made himself master, the cods, in revenge, began the work of plunder and destruction on the dwellings of the hooks. The Hague being thus kept in continual uproar, van Borselen removed the supreme court of Holland to Rotterdam; but a few councillors of the hook party only attended, and the causes tried before it were confined to those sent up from the towns on the same side. Finding, therefore, the torrent of party spirit too strong for him, the stadtholder, leaving George, bastard of Brederode, at Rotterdam to conduct affairs as best he might, retired again to Veere.

† Groote Chronyk, divis. xxxi., cap. 21—23. Reigersberg, ii. deel, bl. 298. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 11.

The presence of the sovereign seemed now to be the only means left for putting a stop to these frightful disorders, and Maximilian accordingly repaired to Hol- 1480 land, as well for the purpose of restoring peace as of levying a petition, which, according to the terms of the great charter, must be done by the count in person. The cods, in order to secure his powerful influence to their party, voted with alacrity a subsidy of 160,000 double schilds (of thirty pence) in ready money, and an annual sum of 80,000 schilds for the next eight years. They easily obtained, in return, the removal of Wolferd van Borselen from the stadtholdership, and the appointment of George de Lalaing, which, as he was a Hainaulter, was a direct violation of one of the provisions of the great charter. The hook members of the council of state were, in like manner, dismissed, and their places filled by persons belonging to the cod party; and Maximilian then left to the new stadtholder the completion of the work of pacification^b.

As the King of France did not withdraw his garri- 1479 sons from Hainault, according to the terms of the truce, hostilities never entirely ceased during its continuance, and it had no sooner expired, than Maximilian, hoping to repair his losses in Artois, assembled a more numerous army than any he had hitherto commanded, occupied Cambray, which the French garrison had evacuated, and laid siege to Terouanne. Upon the approach of the French forces he raised the siege and gave them battle near the hill of Guinegate, where a dearly bought victory deprived him of the flower of the Netherland nobility, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The losses of the Netherlanders by sea, also, were very considerable. The fleet of France, under the command

^b Groot Plakaat., ii. deel., bl. 675. Groote Chron., divis. xxxi., cap. 24, 25. Velius Hoorn, p. 68.

of Admiral Caulon, captured the whole of the vessels engaged in the herring fishery, besides eighty large ships returning with corn from the Baltic, and carried them into the ports of Normandy. It was supposed that more injury was done to the Dutch navy in this year than during the whole of the previous century¹.

1480 Maximilian took advantage of the conclusion of the usual armistice for the winter months, to renew the former treaties between the Netherlands and England, cementing his friendship with Edward by a contract of marriage between his infant son Philip and Anna, third daughter of the king^k. Edward was to send Maximilian a succour of 6000 men against Louis of France, Maximilian binding himself, on the other hand, to pay to Edward the annuity of 50,000 crowns he received from France, in case it should be withdrawn by Louis. This sum, however, which Maximilian had no means of paying, was, by a subsequent agreement, set off against the portion of the young princess of 100,000 crowns, and Edward engaged to declare war against Louis if he should reject the mediation of England. A severe sickness and the intestine commotions of his states, prevented Maximilian from reaping the expected advantage from this alliance; and the truce with France was, at his request, prolonged for another year^l.

Jan. 1481 The hooks of Leyden had in 1479 been expelled by their adversaries, and taken refuge for the most part in Utrecht; thence they now returned to the number of about 135, and taking advantage of the darkness of a winter morning, scaled the walls of their city, and before the members of the cod party could

¹ Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib i., cap. 9. Commynes, liv. vi., chap. 6. Reigersberg Chron., ii. deel., bl. 297.

^k Rym. Fed., tom. xii., pp. 96, 110.

^l Idem, pp. 127, 133. Hæræus Ann. Brab., ad ann. 1480. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 11.

recover from their surprise, made them prisoners in their houses. In order to recover Leyden from the possession thus gained by the hooks, the cod towns of the neighbourhood, Haarlem, Delft, and Amsterdam, obtained from the Stadtholder Lalaing a command to besiege it. As the burghers in a situation to bear arms in its defence were 6000 in number, the cods were unable to capture it by assault, but taking possession of the forts in the neighbourhood, reduced it to great straits for want of provisions^m. While these events took place at Leyden, a party of cods, concealing themselves in two vessels apparently laden with rice, entered the town of Dordrecht, and suddenly attacking the hooks, who were there the ruling party, took many of them prisoners. The burgomaster, Giles Adrianson, who, in his haste to arm himself, had placed a copper pot on his head by way of a helmet, and the sub-schout were slain in the skirmish; the schout, and the other burgomaster, Theodore Beaumont, were arrested, and sent to take their trial at the Hague. Maximilian, being informed of the possession of Dordrecht by the cods, went thither from Rotterdam, and appointed a new government, consisting of men of that party, though without prejudice to the rights and privileges of the town in future. From thence he proceeded to Leyden, which was still in a state of siege, when the burghers, alarmed at his approach, resolved upon a timely submission; the chief persons among them, therefore, having dressed themselves in mourning garments, advanced to meet him without the walls of the town, and sued on their knees for pardon: it was granted with the exception of eighteen of their numberⁿ. Having thus subdued Leyden, Maximilian

^m Groote Chronyk, divis. xxxi., cap. 28. Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 172.

ⁿ Heut., Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 11. Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 173.

repaired to the Hague to preside at the trials of the hook prisoners. Adrian Westfaling, schout, and Theodore Beaumont, burgomaster of Dordrecht, were condemned to death. The chief grounds of their accusation were, the holding assemblies, and making leagues with other towns, preventing the execution of the edicts of the supreme court, under the plea that they were contrary to the privileges of the town; and voting for a general assembly of the states for the purpose of expelling the duke's foreign troops from the county of Holland.

Although their conduct in these particulars was fully justified by the provisions, as well of the great charter, as of the former charters which it confirmed, the sentence was executed upon them in its utmost severity^o. The lives of nearly all the other prisoners were saved by the intercession of Margaret of York. They were, however, banished; a vast many more of the hook party voluntarily quitted their country, and such as remained, were studiously deprived of power, and kept out of office by the influence of the duke and the court^p.

The place of retreat generally chosen by the emigrants, was the city of Utrecht; where since the death of Charles, the authority of the bishop, David of Burgundy, had daily declined, and the influence of his former rival, Gilbert van Brederode, proportionably augmented; and the bishop, in consequence, found his residence in Utrecht rendered so irksome, that he retired to Wyk te Duurstede. To punish the Utrechters for their conduct to their bishop, as well as for the harbour they afforded to the refugees of the hook party, Maximilian confiscated all their property in Holland, and even put

^o Beverwyk Dordrecht, bl. 320.

^p Groote Chronyk, divis. xxxi., chap. 31.

the persons of the Utrechters, who were then in the county, under restraint, until the hook exiles should be driven from Utrecht. From this source a war arose, which, after a series of petty, but ruinous hostilities, carried on for nearly three years, chiefly with the province of Holland, was ended in 1483 by a treaty, stipulating that Maximilian should thenceforward be acknowledged as temporal protector of Utrecht. In this capacity he nominated Frederic van Egmond his stadtholder^a.

The spring of the year 1482 was marked by the Mar. melancholy death of the young duchess, at the early ^{26,} 1482 age of twenty-five. While enjoying, in company with her husband, the sport of hawking, of which she was passionately fond, the breaking of the saddle-girths occasioned her a violent fall from her horse; and as she was then pregnant, and delicacy prompted her studiously to conceal the injury she had received, it proved fatal within a few days. She had borne to Maximilian three children, Philip, Margaret, and Francis, of whom the latter died in his infancy. Her body was interred at Bruges with great magnificence, and her heart carried to Antwerp, where it was placed in the grave of her mother in the church of St. Michael. She was by no means handsome in person, her countenance being disfigured by the large open mouth peculiar to the family of the Burgundian princes, and which her son and grandson inherited, though in a less degree, from her; of a bold and irascible temper, and masculine habits, greatly addicted to hunting and gaming, she was nevertheless tenderly beloved by her husband, who to the end of his life could never mention her, or hear her spoken of, without tears^r.

^a Velius Hoorn, p. 70, 71. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 173—175.

^r Commynes, liv. vi., chap. 3. Pont. Heut., Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 11. Idem, Elog. Mariæ, lib. i., p. 64.

CHAPTER III.

Maximilian acknowledged Governor of the Netherlands. Revolt of the Flemings. Compromise. Maximilian chosen King of the Romans. War with France. Second Revolt of the Flemings. Sedition at Bruges. Maximilian Imprisoned. Grievances of the Flemings. Release of Maximilian, and conclusion of Treaty. Broken by Maximilian. Civil War. Invasion of Holland, and Capture of Rotterdam by the Hooks. Their Defeat. Pacification of Flanders. Alteration of the Coin in Holland. Expulsion of the Hooks from Holland. Insurrection of North Holland. "Casembrotspel," or Bread and Cheese War. Insurgents obtain Pardon. Reduction of Sluys. Affairs of France. Marriage of Maximilian by proxy to Anne of Bretagne. Rupture of the Contract by her Marriage with Charles VIII. of France. Anger of Maximilian. Preparations for War. Peace. Philip assumes the Government of the Netherlands. Terms of Acknowledgment. Advantageous Commercial Treaty with England. Marriage of Philip to Joanna of Spain. Friesland conferred on Albert of Saxony. Birth of Charles V. Philip takes a Journey into Spain. His Return. Death of Margaret of York. War with Guelderland. Truce. Philip sets sail for Spain. Is detained in England. Assumes the Government of Castile. Renewal of Hostilities with Guelderland. Death and Character of Philip.

ACCORDING to the terms of the marriage treaty between Maximilian and Mary, their eldest son, Philip, succeeded to the sovereignty of the Netherlands immediately upon the death of his mother. As he was at this time only four years of age, Maximilian obtained the acknowledgment of himself as guardian of the young count's person, and protector of his states, by all the provinces except Flanders and Guelderland. The Flemings having secured the person of Philip at Ghent, appointed a regency, consisting of Philip of Burgundy, lord of Beveren, Adolphus of Cleves, princes of the blood by the mother's side, Wolferd van Borselen, and

other nobles^a. The new government immediately sent ambassadors to Arras, empowered to conclude a peace with France, the conditions of which, as the Flemings had long been weary of an expensive war carried on against their liege lord, and were, moreover, desirous of abating at any price the power of Maximilian, were entirely favourable to Louis. Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, was contracted to the dauphin, with Artois, the county of Burgundy, Macon, Auxerre, and Noyers as her portion: she was to be educated at the French court, and an annuity of 50,000 livres allotted her by the dauphin. Maximilian, fearing to exasperate the Ghenters, who had possession of both his children, as well as from the impossibility of carrying on the war with France without the support of Flanders, found himself obliged to consent, however unwillingly, to this treaty^b.

The death of Louis XI. in the next year, having 1483 deprived the Flemings of their principal support, Maximilian determined to compel that people by force to acknowledge his authority. He therefore assembled an army, levied in his other states, at Mechlin, whence he marched to Dendermonde, of which he made him- 1484 self master, as well as of Oudenarde, and permitted his troops to overrun the Waasland. The inhabitants of Sluys, on the other hand, surprised and plundered some of the islands of Zealand, and took the town of 1485 Flushing by assault. But shortly after, Sluys falling into the hands of Maximilian, this event was followed by the surrender of Bruges and Ghent. Maximilian was acknowledged protector of Flanders during the minority of Philip, who was delivered by the Ghenters

^a Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ii., cap. 1. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 176.

^b Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 272. Commynes, liv. vi., chap. 9.

into the hands of his father, and by him entrusted to the care of Margaret of York, Duchess-dowager of Burgundy, until he became of age^c.

Having thus for a time brought the Flemings into
1486 subjection, Maximilian quitted the Netherlands to attend the diet at Frankfort, where he was unanimously elected King of the Romans, and the ceremony of his coronation performed with great magnificence at Aix. The crown of France had now devolved on Charles VIII., a minor, and a prince of inferior capacity, but the government during his minority was, pursuant to the will of the late monarch, entrusted to his eldest daughter, Anne, wife of the Lord of Beaujeu. This sagacious and politic princess had entirely adopted her father's views respecting the abasement of his too powerful vassal, and in order to embarrass Maximilian, had encouraged the resistance of the Flemings to his authority, by making with them a secret treaty, promising them all the assistance in her power, and, in consequence, sent into Flanders a subsidy of 650 lances and 4000 infantry^d. Provoked at this interference, Maximilian, immediately upon his return from Germany, declared war against France, and commenced hostilities in Artois, where his generals, Montigny, governor of Hainault, and Salazar, governor of Douay, surprised the towns of Mortaigne and Terouanne. Shortly after, Maximilian himself, with an army of 12,000 men, invaded Picardy in person: but the conclusion of the campaign by no means answered to its flattering commencement. Maximilian, always destitute of resources, was not in a condition to undertake the siege of any place of importance, and the

^c De la Marche, lib. ii., chap. 11, 12. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ii., cap. 4, 5, 8.

^d Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 296, 298, 304, 305. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ii., cap. 5, 6.

Swiss and German troops in his camp becoming dissatisfied for want of pay, the French commander, Desquerdes, found means to tamper successfully with their fidelity: the whole of the latter deserted to the enemy, and the former were only prevented by a hasty dismissal from following their example. In the ensuing 1487 year, Terouanne was re-taken by the French, and the Netherland army sustained a heavy defeat near Bethune, where, among others of the nobility, Charles van Egmond, son of Adolphus, duke of Guelderland, was taken prisoner^e.

The enfeebled condition to which Maximilian was 1488 reduced by these losses, encouraged the Flemings, whom force only had compelled to acknowledge his authority, once more to revolt; and the spirit of disaffection was further roused by Adrian de Villain, lord of Rassinghem, one of the chief promoters of the former disturbances at Ghent, for which reason Maximilian had caused him to be seized and carried prisoner to Vilvoorden. Having succeeded in effecting his escape from thence, he returned to Ghent, and instigated the Flemings to lay before Maximilian a petition for the redress of their grievances, of which the principal heads were, the arbitrary changes made in the coin, the conferring offices on foreigners, the presence of foreign troops in the county, and the lavish expenditure of the public money, while the soldiers, both native and foreign, were allowed to plunder the country for want of pay^f.

Maximilian, then at Bruges, awaiting the assembly of the states-general of the Netherlands, not only refused to remedy these grievances, but, as it was supposed, harboured a design of making himself master

^e Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ii., cap. 10, 11, 12.

^f Idem, lib. ii., cap. xii.

of the city by means of his German troops. Alarmed at this idea, the burghers of Bruges assembled in arms around the banners of their guilds, seized the person of Maximilian in the name of the states, and placed him in close confinement in a house called Cranenburg, belonging to a grocer. At the instigation of some deputies sent from Ghent, they then proceeded to declare Maximilian incapable of exercising the guardianship over his son, or of governing his states; deposed and imprisoned the magistrates, electing new ones in their stead; and threw into prison several of the nobility attendant on the person of the king, ten of whom they delivered up to the citizens of Ghent, taking a bond, however, for the security of their lives. The men of Bruges afterwards put to death Peter de Langhals, treasurer of Maximilian, and schout of the city, having cruelly tortured him upon suspicion that he had advised the introduction of German troops into Bruges; and Martin Pajaart, the mediator of the last accommodation between Maximilian and the Flemings, suffered a like fate at Ghent, upon an accusation that he had persuaded Maximilian to enter the city with 5000 troops instead of 500, according to his promise: ten of the most worthy citizens of Ghent, whom, in the extremity of his torture he had named as his accomplices, were also massacred.

Fearing that the king would contrive some method of escape from Cranenburg, the citizens of Bruges strongly fortified a house belonging to Philip of Cleves, whither they removed their captive, whose courage and magnanimity during this trying period made so strong an impression even upon his bitterest enemies, that though kept in rigid seclusion, he was treated with the

* Meteren, *Nederlandsche Historie*, boek i., fol. 5. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i, 2, 3, 7, 8.

greatest personal respect. The peace which had been made with France, in opposition to the wishes of Maximilian, was renewed, and those who exercised public offices under his authority were forced, upon pain of death, to resign them, the administration being henceforward carried on under the name of the young duke, Philip^b.

The deputies of the states-general, who had fled from Bruges at the beginning of the tumult, were again summoned, in the name of Philip, at Mechlin, whence they afterwards removed to Ghent. In this assembly, the deputies from the states of Flanders presented the following list of accusations against Maximilian :—That he had committed the guardianship of the young prince's person to Margaret of York, in lieu of the princes of the blood ; that he had designed to alienate the provinces of Brabant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, as fiefs escheated to the empire ; that he had pledged and squandered the jewels and tapestry belonging to the house of Burgundy ; that he had made war upon the Flemings as against rebels, although they were no subjects of his, and had thereby obliged them to have recourse to the protection of their liege lord, the king of France : that he had waged divers unnecessary and useless wars ; that he had exacted illegal impositions by force, and established tolls in violation of their privileges ; that he had prevented the assembling of the states-general ; that he had conferred the offices of the county on foreigners ; and that he had, of his own authority, coined money of fictitious value, with the impress of his arms, instead of those of Duke Philip. Although not relating to the particular history of Holland, I have stated these grievances (not the less real, how-

^b Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iii., cap. 3, 4.

ever violent and seditious the means which the Flemings adopted to redress them) somewhat at length, because the principal of them were of a similar nature to those of which the Dutch had constantly to complain, from the accession of the house of Burgundy to the deposition of Philip II., in the next century¹. The states of the other Netherlands earnestly desired the release of the king: an embassy had been sent to the same effect from the German princes; and the Flemings, hearing that the Emperor Frederick was on his march to deliver his son from their hands, consented to a treaty, whereby Maximilian was to be set at liberty, on condition that he should surrender the government of the Netherlands to Duke Philip, and withdraw all his foreign troops from thence within seven days; he, moreover, promised to place his son under the care of the princes of the blood, and to use his best endeavours that the peace with France should be preserved, and the interests of commerce provided for by moderating the tolls, and restoring the uniform value of money. Maximilian solemnly swore to maintain this peace, and delivered as hostages for the fulfilment of its conditions, Balthazar van Volkestein, and the Count of Hanau, to Bruges; and Philip of Cleves, son of the Lord of Ravestein, to Ghent, who took an oath, that if he failed in his engagements, they would join the Flemings against him. Maximilian likewise promised to obtain the ratification of the three estates of each of the Netherland provinces; and the Flemings, on their side, agreed to pay to the king 50,000 lis d'or for the losses and injuries he had sustained by their revolt^k. On the conclusion of this pacification Maximilian was set at liberty, after a confinement of

¹ Meteren, boek i., fol. 5.

^k Meteren, boek i., fol. 5. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ii., cap. 9.

nearly four months' duration. But by this time the Emperor Frederic had advanced with his army, consisting of 4000 horse and 11,000 infantry, to the frontiers of Brabant; and Maximilian, finding himself thus supported, made no scruple of violating the engagements he had so solemnly entered into. Hostilities recommenced, and the emperor undertook the siege of Ghent itself. He was forced, however, to abandon it, owing to the brave and skilful defence made by Philip of Cleves, lord of Ravestein, Maximilian's hostage, who declared that he would shed the last drop of his blood in defence of the Flemings, rather than dishonour himself by breaking the oath he had sworn to them. Frederic, finding his determination to adhere to their party inflexible, pronounced the ban of the empire against him¹.

After having consumed six weeks in the ineffectual siege of Ghent, the emperor returned to Germany, leaving Duke Albert of Saxony, with his troops, in the Netherlands, in the quality of lieutenant-general of the King of the Romans. Meanwhile, the king of France, professing himself bound, as liege lord of Flanders, to deliver his subjects from the oppression of Maximilian, sent a considerable reinforcement of troops to Philip of Cleves, who, by their aid, was enabled to possess himself of Brussels, Louvain, and several places in Brabant; the garrison of the port of Sluys likewise declared in his favour. The insurgents imagining that Maximilian would now prove amenable to conditions, proposed to pay him the sum of 100,000 Rhenish guilders, if he would retire into Germany, and leave the government of the Nether-

¹ Schmidt, *Hist. des Alle.*, vol. v., chap. 26. Meteren, *boek i.*, fol. 6. Pont. *Heut. Rer. Aust.*, lib. iii., cap. 11.

lands to the relations of Philip by the mother's side; but this offer was indignantly refused^m.

These commotions in Flanders infused new life into the banished and dispirited hooiks of Holland. Since the subjection of Utrecht to Maximilian, in 1483, they had been deprived of a place of rendezvous, and this was now afforded them by the possession of Sluys by Philip of Cleves, who was favourable to their party. With him, therefore, they made an agreement, whereby they were permitted to collect at Sluys troops and vessels for the invasion of Holland; and Francis van Brederode, a youth of only two-and-twenty, but whose family had ever been unflinching supporters of the hooik party, was chosen leader of the proposed expedition.

At the end of the autumn, they had assembled a fleet of forty-eight ships, manned by 2000 Hollanders and Flemings, with which Brederode sailed into the mouth of the Maas, through a channel hitherto unattempted*, and landing at Delftshaven, with 8500 men, the ice in the river not permitting him to advance farther by water, marched to Rotterdam. A few of his troops passing over the frozen moat, scaled the wall, and opening one of the gates, admitted the remainder within the town, of which they thus became masters, without the loss of a single life. Brederode lost no time in remodelling the government and strengthening the fortifications, and Rotterdam was soon filled with exiles of the hooik partyⁿ.

On intelligence of these events, Maximilian repaired

^m Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 176. Meteren, boek i., fol. 6. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iil., cap. 12.

ⁿ Jonkheer Fransen Oorlog., 78—87, 111. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 177.

* Called afterwards, "Jonker Franksgat."

to Holland, and summoned an assembly of the states at Leyden. Here it was resolved to besiege Rotterdam by land and water; and in the beginning of February, a considerable army was already assembled at Delft. The Amsterdammers, in reward for the readiness which they manifested to march against their countrymen, were permitted to bear the Roman crown above their arms^o. The conduct of the expedition was entrusted to Martin Polhain, captain-general of Holland, and John van Egmond, the stadtholder: the Maas was filled with vessels, and the town strictly blockaded on the land side. Nevertheless, the besieged made several successful sallies, and though they failed in more than one attempt to gain possession of Schiedam and Gouda, they laid the whole of Delftland under contribution, and surprized Geertruydenberg, which, however, they afterwards abandoned, on payment of 2000 crowns^p.

At length provisions began to fail at Rotterdam, and Brederode saw himself obliged to attempt the passage up the river Lek, in order to obtain necessities for the supply of his troops. He departed from Rotterdam with five-and-twenty ships for this purpose, but fell in with six Austrian men-of-war, and a number of other vessels from Dordrecht and Gouda, near Streefkerk, where the Hollanders, overpowered by the heavy artillery of the German ships, were entirely defeated, and the greater part of their fleet destroyed, or captured by the enemy. Shortly after, a similar disaster befell John van Naaldwyk, who was conducting one hundred boats laden with corn and wine to Rotterdam^q. Dispirited by these untoward circumstances,

^o Boxborn, *Theat. Urb. Holl.*, p. 255.

^p Jonkheer Fransen *Oorlog*, bl. 109—198. *Pont. Heut. Rer. Austr.* lib. iii., cap. 19.

^q *Snoi. Rer. Bat.*, lib. xii., p. 178.

the burghers of that city earnestly besought Brederode to accept of an amnesty offered on the part of the king, by Martin van Polhain. He yielded at length, and after a siege of six months, surrendered the town, engaging to evacuate it within six days, and leave the whole of the ammunition behind. He himself retired with 1050 men to Sluys^r.

The Flemings had, from the beginning of the troubles until this time, received constant aid from France; but the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with that country, as it precluded the hope of further supplies, paved the way for the pacification of Flanders under the mediation of Charles VIII. Maximilian obtained the guardianship of his son and the government of the county; the nobles who had been arrested at Bruges were liberated without ransom; the magistrates appointed by the insurgents in Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, were obliged to sue for pardon dressed in mourning, barefoot, bareheaded, ungirded, and on their knees; and the province of Flanders was bound to pay a sum of 300,000 lis d'or in three years. Maximilian, on the other hand, engaged that the foreign troops should evacuate the country. Philip of Cleves, refusing to be included in the peace, strengthened himself in Sluys, whence he carried on a piratical warfare against the vessels of Holland and Zealand^s.

The long wars, and the large sums required for the payment of foreign troops, had occasioned so great a scarcity of specie in the Netherlands, that the nominal value of money had risen by degrees to three times its standard value, so that a guilder, the original value of which was twenty pence, went current for sixty-three

^r Jonkheer Fransen Oorlog, p 232—249.

^s Meteren, fol. 6. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iii., cap. 18; lib. iv., cap. 8. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 321, 326. Bacon, History of Henry VII., p. 82.

pence; a real of fourpence-halfpenny, rose to fourteen pence; and the penny itself was worth the nominal threepence-halfpenny^t. The price of provisions was proportionably enhanced: people hesitated to take money of such fictitious value; and the king himself refused to receive it in payment of the scutage or Ruytergeld^u.

A reformation of the coin was allowed by all ranks of men to have become absolutely necessary; and those who were conversant in such matters universally agreed, that such a measure must be adopted with caution, and effected by slow degrees. Had Maximilian abided by their advice, or by that of the states of the provinces, as he was bound by their charters to do, the restoration of peace and the renewal of commerce would have enabled him to effect the change in the coin with little difficulty, since the scarcity of specie in the Netherlands would infallibly have drawn it thither from other countries, when he might gradually, and with great benefit to the state, have restored the coin to its true value. Disregarding alike, however, the provisions of the constitution and the maxims of sound policy, Maximilian, by the advice of the Abbé St. Bertin, and some other ecclesiastics equally ignorant of the nature of the subject, published an edict, reducing at once the denomination of the coin to somewhat lower than its real value. A Henry noble, which had been current for nine guilders, or 180 pence, was not now to be taken above fifty pence; the real was reduced from fourteenpence to fourpence-halfpenny; and the receivers of the Ruytergeld were commanded to take in none but the standard coin. This measure proved a greater injury to the state than

^t *Recherches sur le Commerce*, tom. i., p. 121 et seq. Velius Hoorn, bl. 82.

^u *Rech.*

the evil it was intended to remedy. The price of provisions, instead of falling, rose still higher; men sought to evade payment in the new coin of the debts which they had borrowed in the old*; specie, both gold and silver, found its way to Ghent and Bruges, where, before the pacification, it was current at the high denomination; and the merchants of England, France, and Germany, preferred taking money for their wares to exchanging them for others as heretofore. Thus the circulating medium, instead of increasing, continued daily to diminish, while the resources of the country were exhausted by civil dissensions and the presence of a foreign soldiery^v.

While Holland was labouring under the difficulties occasioned by the edict of Maximilian, Albert of Saxony, his lieutenant-general in the Netherlands, being determined to deprive the hooks of the only two places of
 1490 refuge which yet remained to them, Montfort and Woerden, marched to the siege of the former. Brederode, on the other hand, equipped at Sluys a fleet of thirty-eight ships, and assuming the command of it under the appellation of Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, in the service of the young Count Philip, sailed to Zealand, where his troops plundered the islands of Overflakke and Duyveland, and thence advanced almost to the gates of Dordrecht, setting on fire several houses in its vicinity. They then retreated to Schouwen, where they were attacked in the channel

^v Meteren, fol. 6. Groote Chronyck, divis. xxxi., cap. 69, 72. Velius Hoorn, bl. 83.

* "No sooner," says the historian, "was the rumour of the intended alteration of the coin spread abroad, than the unwonted sight was seen of debtors hurrying to their creditors with bags of money, insisting upon being allowed to pay their debts immediately, while the creditors carefully concealed themselves from the sight of their debtors, to avoid their offers of payment." Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iii., cap. 19.

of Brouwershaven by a number of Holland and Zealand vessels, under the command of John van Egmond; and, although considerably inferior in force, defended themselves with undaunted courage, until the fall of the tide left sixteen of their ships aground. The hooks thereupon landed, when another desperate fight commenced, which was terminated by Brederode and two of his relatives being wounded and taken prisoners;—the troops were all either captured or slain. John of Naaldywk, who had during this time held on the engagement at sea, escaped with nine ships to Sluys^w. Brederode was confined at Dordrecht, where he shortly after died of his wounds. Hopeless of relief, Montfort capitulated, after a siege of four months, Woerden being included in the treaty. After the surrender of these places, the unfortunate hooks either retreated to Sluys, or continued roving about the seas until the next year, when events occurred in Holland which gave them hopes of regaining a footing in the county^x. The sudden alteration of the coin, the enormous taxes laid on the industrious classes*, and the waste of provisions occasioned by the destruction of the ships which brought supplies to the contending parties in the late civil wars, had reduced the people to extreme poverty, insomuch that many substantial householders were brought to actual beggary. The price of wheat was raised to thirteen pence a bushel; and the list of poor who received weekly donations of bread amounted in Leyden to 10,000, to a still greater number in

^w Jonkheer Fransen Oorlog, 253—266.

^x Meteren, boek i., fol. 7. Jonkheer Fransen Oorlog, bl. 268. Snouck Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 178.

* The nobles were still exempt from taxation, except the payment of the Ruytergeld. Grotius, *Inl.*, &c., p. 164.

Amsterdam, and to above 2000 in the small town of Hoorn^y.

Notwithstanding the impoverished condition of the country, the Ruytergeld was exacted with the utmost strictness, and even severity. Many of the poorer inhabitants of Kemmerland, West Friesland, and Waterland, were utterly unable to provide for its payment, and the stadtholder, John van Egmond, interpreting their inability as contumacy, put him-
 1491 self at the head of some troops, with a determination to extort it by force. The slaughter of two of the recusants roused to vengeance the already irritated multitude, who took up arms, and hastened to Alkmaar, Hoorn, and other towns, in order to gain partizans. In this manner began a ruinous agrarian war, called in the country the "Casembrotspel," or "bread and cheese sport," as being carried on by the lower order of people, who subsisted chiefly on these articles of food^z. At Alkmaar the Kemmerlanders, exclaiming that they would rather die fighting than perish by starvation, attacked the house of the receiver, Nicholas Korf, who had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by his rapacity and extortion, plundered and destroyed it: they likewise killed one of his servants, and had he not fortunately been absent, he himself must have shared the same fate. The number of insurgents daily augmenting, Egmond was obliged to desist from the exaction of the Ruytergeld, and the senate of Haarlem sent deputies to Alkmaar, to assure the malcontents that an assembly of the states was about to be held at the Hague, to provide a remedy for their grievances. By this promise,

^y Schryver's Graaven, deel. ii., bl. 457. Vclius Hoorn, bl. 84. Ann. Egmond: p. 132.

^z Vclius Hoorn, bl. 86.

and the cessation of the tax, the people were appeased for the time^a.

No sooner had the intelligence of these commotions reached John van Naaldwyk at Sluys, than he took measures to turn them to the advantage of the hook party. Leaving Sluys with a small fleet, he landed at Wyk on the sea, which he surprised; and proceeding to the Marsdiep, took possession, without difficulty, of Texel and Wieringen, persuading the inhabitants that he was come to release them from their oppressive burdens. He likewise attempted to make himself master of Hoorn and Enkhuysen, but the burghers of these towns, although strongly inclined to the hook party, dreaded lest, by opening their gates to him, they should draw on themselves a siege, which the small assistance he could afford would not enable them to sustain. Finding himself thwarted in this design, Naaldwyk again retired to Sluys, after having interrupted the navigation of the Zuyderzee during the whole summer^b.

The complaints of the people of North Holland were, according to the promise of the senate of Haarlem; brought before the states at the Hague, but so far from being redressed, that they were met by a new demand on the part of the stadtholder, of a tax of two Andrew's guilders (three shillings and sixpence,) upon every house. In proportion to the expectations the people had formed of the benefits likely to result from the meeting of the states, was their rage at finding themselves disappointed. Deputies from all the towns and villages of Kemmerland and West Friezland, except Enkhuysen, assembled together at Hoorn, where it was unanimously resolved to pay no more Ruytergeld.

^a Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust, lib. iv., cap. 6. Velius Hoorn, bl. 85, 86.

^b Groote Chronyck, divis. xxxi., chap. 74.

The insurgents then divided themselves into troops and companies under banners whereon bread and cheese was painted as a device; many of them also bore small morsels of the same fastened to their dress, signifying that to obtain this was the object of the war: a part were quartered in Hoorn and the remainder at Alkmaar. The burghers of Hoorn, however, soon becoming weary of such troublesome guests, induced them, by fair words and presents, to leave the town, when Alkmaar was made the chief place of rendezvous^c.

From hence the stadtholder determined to dislodge them, and began his march thither for that purpose; but the insurgents having obtained a knowledge of his 1492 design, laid an ambush in his route, which he hardly escaped by a speedy retreat: this advantage raised their courage still higher, and in order to achieve something of importance before he should come upon them with an increased force, they marched on the third of May to secure Haarlem, where they had many partizans among the burghers. Upon their presenting themselves before the walls, the senate refused them admittance; but some of their friends within the town having broken down one of the gates, the whole body rushed in, and, accompanied by a considerable number of Haarlemmers, proceeded to the town hall, which they quickly mastered, put to death the treasurer, Nicholas van Ruyven, the schout, and two of the sheriffs. They then proceeded to plunder the houses of most of the rich burghers, broke open and rifled the treasurer's and orphan's chests, and tore in pieces many of the charters and documents appertaining to the town. The next day, however, a stop was put to the pillage, and the insurgents, to the number of 3000, quitted Haarlem to undertake the siege of Leyden. The stadtholder with

^c Velius Hoorn, bl. 85, 86.

some of the nobility and troops were already in that city, and had erected a fort outside the principal gate. The besiegers, having taken the fort by assault, possessed themselves of some houses near the gate, when so brisk a fire was kept up by the garrison, that they were struck with a general panic, and began to retreat. Being pursued by the stadtholder, they broke their ranks and fled. Many were slain and made prisoners, and the remainder took refuge in Haarlem in confusion and disorder^d.

Egmond perceiving, from this occurrence, that the undisciplined bands of the insurgents were totally unable to withstand the attack of regular troops, solicited Duke Albert of Saxony to send some German infantry to his aid. These were soon followed by the duke in person, who, with 3000 foreign soldiers, encamped in the country about Haarlem, when numerous skirmishes were fought between the Germans and the Kemmerlanders, in one of which, near Heemskerk, the insurgents were defeated, and more than 600 slain. The German troops then took possession of Beverwyk and the rest of the villages in the vicinity of Haarlem, exercising unbounded license and rapine, and consuming the little that was left of the exhausted resources of the country^e.

On the news of the ill success at Heemskerk, the Haarlemmers caused the Kemmerlanders, and the soldiers they had hired from Guelderland and Cleves, to evacuate the town, and sent deputies to tender their submission to the duke, who repaired thither about the middle of May; he was received with every demonstration of respect, and the keys of the gates offered to

^d Meteren, boek i., fol. 7. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iv., cap. 6. Velius Hoorn, bl. 87.

^e Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 7. Velius Hoorn, bl. 87, 88.

him. Soon after his entry, in order to strike terror into the people, he commanded a gallows to be erected in the market-place, where some of the insurgents were afterwards executed^f.

Dispirited by the surrender of Haarlem, the Kemmerlanders and West Friezlanders likewise despatched deputies to Albert, to offer their submission, and sue for pardon, which was granted only upon very harsh conditions. The privileges of Haarlem, Hoorn, and Alkmaar, as well as those of the other towns of North Holland, were abolished, and the citizens of the latter were obliged to destroy its fortifications at their own expense*. Heavy fines were imposed, not only on the whole province of North Holland and West Friezland, which was condemned to pay also a yearly tax of three-pence upon every house, but upon each town in particular; all such persons as had either been actively concerned in the insurrection, or were guilty of aiding or advising the insurgents, besides twenty-five from Alkmaar, fifty from Kemmerland, and one hundred from West Friezland, were excluded from the benefit of the pardon, to be dealt with according to the pleasure of the stadtholder. The Duke of Saxony then made a progression through North Holland, and changed everywhere the governments of the towns^g.

Thus ended the bread and cheese war in Holland.

^f Pont. Heut., lib. iv., cap. 7.

^g Groote Chronyck, divis. xxxi., cap. 76, 77, 78. Velius Hoorn, bl. 88, 89.

* It was a principle of policy with the arbitrary princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria, to prevent the increase of strength and wealth in the "good towns." De Witt, *Politike Gronden*, &c., p. 307. Maximilian, when petitioned by the burghers of Amsterdam for permission to surround their town with a stone wall, sneeringly replied, that if it were not for the intestine wars in which they delighted, a silken thread round the town would be sufficient to protect them. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iv., cap. 7, p. 114.

which has been dwelt upon more at length than the subject would seem to demand, because it was the last effort made for a considerable time by the Hollanders against the increasing power and extortion of their counts. They had always been the losers when they attempted by force of arms to assert or extend their privileges; they had obtained them only in exchange for the gold which they never spared in the cause; both strength and gold failed them now; beaten and insulted by a foreign soldiery, crushed to the earth by the weight of merciless impositions, they had neither spirit nor resources to resist the arbitrary measures of their sovereign. The miserable remnant of the hook or popular party melted so entirely away, that we hear of them no more in Holland: the county, formerly a power respected in itself, was now become a small and despised portion of an overgrown state; and had it not been that the elastic spirit, peculiar perhaps to a commercial people, was enabled to rouse itself once more under the fostering care of a wise and gentle female ruler, Holland might have appeared on the page of history only as one of the lifeless members belonging to the unwieldy body of the Austro-Spanish empire.

Sluys, in Flanders, which had for some time past afforded a refuge to the banished hooks, was, after the conclusion of the war in Holland, besieged by Duke Albert. A fleet of forty ships of war, with thirteen large vessels called hulks, and thirty hoys, supplied by Holland, besides twenty-two vessels from England, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, occupied the harbour, and, in conjunction with the land forces, hotly bombarded the town for several days: nevertheless Philip of Cleves refused to surrender until, by some accident, the powder magazine blew up, when he consented to highly favourable terms offered by

the duke, and retired with John van Naaldwyk to France^a.

Maximilian left the conduct of affairs in the Netherlands entirely to his lieutenant, Albert of Saxony, since he himself was sufficiently occupied with other matters and among the rest with the hostile measures he was about to pursue against the court of France. Before the conclusion of the last peace at Frankfort, in 1489, Maximilian had made an alliance with Henry VII. of England, who was on the point of sending troops into Brittany, to protect the duchy, then governed by a female and a minor, against the hostile designs of Charles VIII. of France; and shortly after the Duchess Anne was induced by the influence of Henry to consent to a marriage by proxy with Maximilian, without the permission or knowledge of her liege lord, the King of France. To guard against the consequences of a step at which Charles might reasonably take um-
1490 brage, Maximilian entered into a fresh treaty with the King of England, whereby each party bound himself to declare war against France, in case the king should invade Brittanyⁱ.

Since the death of Francis II., the last duke, the King of France had earnestly desired to unite this duchy to the French crown, and he now perceived that the accomplishment of his project would be impossible, if the marriage between Maximilian and the young duchess should be fully completed. He himself had been contracted, in the year 1482, to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, and in the summer of the ensuing year the young princess made her public entry

^a Meteren, boek i., fol. 7. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. iv., cap. 9. Bacon's History of Henry VII., p. 84.

ⁱ Rym. Fœd., tom. xii., p. 358—360. Bacon's Henry VII., p. 67. Rym. Fœd., tom. xii., p. 397, et seq.

into Paris, where she was solemnly betrothed to the king, and had ever since remained, bearing the title, first of dauphiness, and afterwards of Queen of France. Notwithstanding the obstacles presented by these double espousals, Charles determined, since Maximilian appeared in no hurry to conclude his marriage with Anne, to solicit her hand for himself. Having therefore obtained a dispensation from the pope, and secured the friendship of the most influential advisers of the young duchess, he advanced at the head of a powerful army to the frontiers of Brittany. A wooer in such a guise was likely soon to dispel all doubts upon the propriety of entering into a second contract; and, impelled as well by the advice of her courtiers, as by the danger which threatened her states, Anne consented, though not without some difficulty, to the proposed union: by the articles of the marriage treaty, Brittany was permanently united to the crown of France^k.

Maximilian, thus at one stroke deprived of his bride, and disappointed in his expectation of seeing his daughter raised to the throne of France, breathed nothing but vengeance. He immediately sent ambassadors to the King of England and to Ferdinand VII. of Spain, to incite them to hostilities against the French king, and found both monarchs favourably inclined to his views. Ferdinand was willing to undertake a war with France, in order to regain possession of Perpignan and Roussillon, pledged by his predecessor, John, king of Arragon, to Louis XI., and Henry gladly availed himself of a pretext always popular with the English nation, to extort subsidies from his parliament. These were now unsparingly granted, and the king prepared an army of 25,000 foot, and 1600 horse, for the invasion of France.

^k Bacon, p. 68. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 340.

The issue of the expedition was nearly similar to that undertaken by Edward IV. in favour of Charles the Bold; since negotiations for peace were already commenced when the king landed at Calais. The ambassadors he had sent to Maximilian found on their arrival that his real power fell very far short of what his magnificent professions had led men to expect; and that, in fact, no assistance was to be hoped for from him, since he was totally unprovided with money or troops. At the same time that the ambassadors returned with this information, intelligence was brought to Henry's camp, that Perpignan and Roussillon were restored to the King of Arragon. By this cession, all pretext for war was taken from the latter, and his long contests with the Moors had left him but little inclination for it¹. Henry, to whose avaricious disposition the expenses of a war were utterly insupportable, was well pleased to make the inactivity of his allies an excuse for concluding a separate peace, and as Charles was at this time intent upon the expedition he undertook about a year after into Italy, he was content to purchase it at a tolerably high price. He engaged to pay Henry, on the withdrawal of his troops, 620,000 crowns, in discharge of the debt contracted by the Duchess of Brittany, and 125,000 as arrears due from King 1493 Louis to Edward IV.* The same cause which made

¹ Bacon, p. 78, 87, 88, 89. *Recueil des Traités*, tom. i., p. 375.

* Bacon (p. 89), and after him Hume (vol. iii., chap. 25, p. 354), says that Charles engaged to pay Henry a yearly pension of 25,000 crowns, besides the 745,000 crowns; but we find stated in Rymer's *Fœdera*, only the two sums of 620,000 and 125,000 crowns to be paid in half-yearly instalments of 25,000 crowns till the whole should be discharged. Vid. tom. xii., p. 506, and the several acquittances by King Henry, p. 526—549, and *passim*. Hume was probably led into error from having overlooked the treaty, which is misplaced in the edition of the *Fœdera* referred to by him.

Charles desirous of preserving peace with England, prompted him to conclude a treaty most advantageous to Maximilian, whereby the counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois, and the barony of Noyers, part of the marriage portion of Margaret of Austria, were surrendered to Maximilian as guardian of his son Philip, and the princess herself restored to her father^m.

Philip was now nearly seventeen, and Maximilian becoming Emperor of Germany by the death of his father in the month of August of this year, determined to disembarass himself of the government of the Netherlands, on whose obedience he could place but little dependence during his frequent absences in Germany. He caused Philip, therefore, to be acknowledged as Duke of Brabant in September, whence he repaired to Geertruydenberg, where the states of Holland were assembled. The president of the council declared to 1494 the states, in the name of Philip, that he was inclined to swear to the privileges granted by Philip I. and Charles of Burgundy and their ancestors; yet that he annulled, and considered as invalid, such as they had obtained since the death of Duke Charles, permitting only "for private, and particular reasons*," the towns of Delft, Leyden, Gouda, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Schiedam, to elect their councils as they had done since that time, until he reached the age of twenty-five. He added further, that he was not unwilling, provided allegiance were sworn on these terms, to grant the people such new privileges as were not inconsistent with his dignity. On this footing he was unanimously

^m Rym. Fæd., tom. xii., p. 506, et seq. Recueil des Traités, tom. i., p. 356.

* The reasons were, that as these towns were frequently in the habit of advancing loans in cases of necessity, it was necessary to conciliate their good-will.

acknowledged count by the states of Holland, and shortly after in Zealand. In the next year, Philip engaged himself until he was twenty-five not to bestow the offices of the county on foreigners, and not to grant letters of reprisal in Holland without the advice of the stadtholder and council. He likewise gave an unconditional promise never to coin, or alter the standard of money, or to lay on any new tolls without the consent of the states. He refused to grant many other privileges which the states deemed necessary to the welfare of the county; nevertheless, as he was exempt from the restless disposition and military propensities of his father and grandfather, the people enjoyed repose and comparative happiness under his government, and trade and commerce once more began to flourish^a.

To these, one of the first acts of his administration was in the highest degree beneficial. The commerce with England had been for some time impeded by the conduct of the Duchess-dowager Margaret of York, who, though a woman of virtue and intelligence, was deeply imbued with the prejudices and party hatred which the long civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster had engendered in the minds of all ranks of men in England. Being unable to endure with patience that the throne should be occupied by a member of the family she detested, she made her court the sanctuary and stronghold of rebels against Henry's government. She had countenanced and encouraged the impostures both of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, assisting the former with a force of 2000 Germans, under a soldier of fortune, Martin Zwart; while the attempt of the latter was planned chiefly by her, to be executed at the very time that the king was

^a Groot Plakaat., deel. iv., bl. 3. Velius Hoorn, bl. 90.

engaged in the war with France on behalf of Maximilian. During the delay caused by the unexpected conclusion of peace between England and France, Margaret entertained Perkin with royal honour at her court, and the demand which Henry's ambassadors made after the accession of Philip that he should be surrendered, was constantly refused, upon the plea that no one had a right to interfere with the authority of the duchess-dowager in the states which constituted her dowry. In consequence of this refusal, King Henry banished the Netherland merchants from England, and recalled the English company of merchant adventurers resident at Antwerp; and Philip, by way of reprisal, commanded all the resident English merchants to quit the Netherlands°.

Whether or not Philip took any share in the subsequent enterprise of Perkin Warbeck, he succeeded so entirely in removing from the mind of Henry any suspicion that such was the case, that a commercial treaty of the most friendly nature was now concluded between the two sovereigns, commonly styled in the Netherlands the "Grand Treaty of Commerce*." The 1496 first article of agreement purported, that neither the duke himself, nor the Duchess Margaret, should, upon any pretext whatever, harbour, counsel, or favour the rebels or fugitives from England. The ports of both nations were thrown open under certain regulations to all kinds of merchandize (bullion excepted) coming from either; the entire liberty of fishing on both coasts was confirmed, which, although mutual as regarded the terms of the treaty, tended principally to the advantage of the Dutch, as being most addicted to

° Bacon's Henry VII., p. 97—104.

* "Intercursus Magnus."

that branch of trade; the purchase of goods from pirates was strictly forbidden, and an admirable change was made in the regulations relating to wrecks. It had been hitherto the custom to restore the property found on a wreck to the owners or their heirs, only in case a "man, woman, child, dog, cat, or cock," were found alive; but, by this treaty it was decreed, that though every living creature had perished, the property of a wreck should remain for a year and a day in the custody of the authorities of the place where the casualty occurred, to allow of its being claimed by the lawful owners^p. This treaty was confirmed by the principal mercantile towns of Holland and Zealand; and upon its ratification, the merchant adventurers returned to Antwerp, where they were received with every demonstration of welcome and joy^q.

In the spring of the same year, a marriage was concluded with the consent of the states, between Philip, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; Margaret, sister of Philip, having been contracted in the November of the previous year to John, son and heir of these monarchs. The marriage of the former was celebrated in the October of this year; and that of the Lady Margaret, in the April following. She, however, lost her husband before the end of six months; and gave birth prematurely to a still-born son, to the great grief and disappointment of the Spaniards. These events prepared the way for Philip's accession to the crown matrimonial of Spain^r.

Friezland was yet wanting to his extensive dominions. Charles the Bold, though not of a temper patiently to endure the assertion of independence maintained by the Friezlanders, was too deeply en-

^p Rym. Fœd., tom. xi., p. 578 et seq. ^q Bacon's Henry VII., p. 128.
^r Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. v., cap. 5.

grossed by other matters to undertake to subdue them by force, a work of much time and difficulty, even if eventually successful. Flanders, France, and the affairs of the empire had furnished sufficient occupation to Maximilian, and the Friezlanders since the year 1457, when they had obtained letters patent from Frederic III., acknowledging them as immediate subjects of the empire, had continued to regard themselves as such. On his accession to the empire, Maximilian lost whatever desire he might have had to see Friezland annexed 1497 to Holland, and invested Duke Albert of Saxony with the hereditary stadtholdership of that province. The consent of Philip was obtained by the surrender, on the part of Albert, of the citadels of Haarlem, Medemblick, and Woerden, which had been pledged to him for 350,000 Rhenish guilders. The Friezlanders, although they acknowledged the sovereignty of Germany, were by no means willing to receive a ruler at the hands of the emperor; but they had become so enfeebled by the dissensions of the two factions of nobles and people, which had now lasted a century and a half; and Duke Albert knew so well how to take advantage of the distracted condition of the country, that the resistance offered to his assumption of sovereign authority was slight and ineffectual. Early in the next year, he was acknowledged in the province of Westergouwe, on terms much less favourable to the 1498 liberty of the inhabitants, than if they had been united to Holland. Albert obtained the right of administering justice, of appointing the governments of the towns, and of coining money according to his pleasure, prerogatives which the Counts of Holland were never permitted to enjoy. The remainder of Friezland ere long followed the example of Westergouwe^a.

^a Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. v., cap. 6, 7.

The year 1500 was distinguished by the birth of a son to Philip and Joanna, who afterwards occupied so large a space in the history of Europe, as Charles V., emperor of Germany. While yet an infant, a contract of marriage was entered into for him with Claude, daughter of Louis XII. of France, the latter engaging to surrender the kingdom of Naples as her portion, while Ferdinand and Isabella were to divest themselves of Calabria in favour of their grandson^t.

By the death of the elder sister of Joanna, Isabella, wife of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, and of their infant son, Michael, she became heiress to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. Ferdinand and Isabella, therefore, desirous of making Philip acquainted with the laws and manners of his future subjects, invited him into Spain, whither he proceeded with his wife, Joanna, having appointed Engelbert of Nassau, lord of Breda, stadtholder of the Netherlands, and entrusted the care of the infant, Charles, and his daughter, to Margaret of York. Before his departure, he concluded a marriage between his sister, Margaret, widow of the hereditary prince of Spain, and Philibert, duke of Savoy^u. Philip passed through Paris on his route, where he was courteously received and magnificently entertained by the king, Louis XII. He remained nearly two years in Spain, and then returned to the Netherlands, shortly after which, the duchess-
1503 dowager, Margaret of York, died; she was held in high esteem by the Netherlands, and, although Mary of Burgundy was her step-daughter only, had been entrusted with the care and education of both her children, and had executed the important charge with admirable zeal and fidelity^v.

^t Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 10.

^u Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. vi., cap. 1.

^v Pont. Heut. Elog. Mariæ et Phil. I.

It has been mentioned in passing, that the Guelderslanders, after the death of Charles the Bold, made some ineffectual attempts to preserve the duchy for the children of Adolphus van Egmond, to whose prejudice it had been sold to Charles by his father, Arnold. Charles, the son of Adolphus, taken prisoner in the battle of Bethune, in 1487, had been released in 1491, chiefly by the interference of the Count of Meurs, and receiving from the King of France an escort of 1000 horse, had reinstated himself in the duchy of Guelderland. He afterwards consented to submit his claims to the decision of the princes of the German empire, who pronounced, that neither he or his family had any right to the duchy, which had reverted as an escheated fief to the empire, on the death of the last male heir, Reynold[•]. Notwithstanding this decree, he persisted in retaining possession of his paternal inheritance, and had hitherto been able to maintain his authority in Guelderland, sometimes at war with Maximilian and Philip, and sometimes concluding short and ill-observed truces: the last, made in 1499, had again been broken during the absence of Philip in Spain, and the archduke now resolved to carry on the war with more vigour than heretofore.

As a preliminary measure, he determined to stop 1504 entirely the advantageous traffic carried on with Holland, whence Guelderland was accustomed to supply itself with corn and various other necessaries. He therefore caused an edict to be published in the principal towns of Holland, forbidding all communication with the Guelderslanders; and having collected an army of 3000 men near Bois le Duc, declared war against Charles van Egmond. The first campaign, however,

[•] Meteren, boek i., fol. 9. Garnier, Cont. de Velly, tom. xx., p. 202. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. v., cap. 2.

was signalized only by the possession of a few unimportant forts, and the ravaging the open country on each side, the whole of the small strength of the Guelderlanders lying in their ships. Late in the autumn, Charles's fleet sailed from Harderwyk, with a force of only 700 men, and advanced to Monnikendam, intending to surprise that town; but the Hollanders, aware of their design, surrounded them with a number of cogs and some large vessels of war, defeated them in a sharp battle, and took 130 prisoners; the remainder retreated to Harderwyk^z.

1505 In the beginning of the next year, Philip having done homage to the emperor for Guelderland and Zutphen, advanced to effect the entire subjugation of the duchy, at the head of a considerable army. The principal towns, one after another, fell into his hands. Charles of Guelderland, deprived of the assistance of France, by the sickness of Louis XII., was unable to withstand the power of Philip, who might now have put a final termination to the war, had not the affairs of Spain peremptorily demanded his presence^y.

His mother-in-law, Isabella of Castile, dying in the November of the previous year, had, in consequence of the weakness of intellect of her daughter, Joanna, left by her will her husband, Ferdinand, regent of Castile, until the majority of her grandson.

Upon intelligence of her death, Philip caused himself and Joanna to be proclaimed King and Queen of Castile, and made preparations for a journey thither, in order to prevent Ferdinand from assuming an authority which he thought belonged more properly to himself, as husband of the present, and father of the future, sovereign of the kingdom. To provide for the

^z Velius, Hoorn, bl. 93.

^y Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 183.

expenses of his voyage, besides laying a general tribute on all his states, he sold or mortgaged a considerable portion of the county domains, and by these means collected a sum of 9,000,000 guilders²; but his departure was delayed for some time by the pregnancy of the queen, and the war with Charles van Egmond. After her delivery, Philip, unwilling to be longer detained, notwithstanding the prosperous state of his affairs in Guelderland, consented to a truce with Charles for two years, within which time arbitrators should be chosen on both sides, to effect a permanent peace; Philip should remain in possession of such towns and forts as he had taken, Charles engaging to serve him against all his enemies, and to accompany him to Spain, for which he was to receive 3000 guilders. Philip appointed Henry of Nassau his stadtholder over Guelderland, and was attended as far as Antwerp by Charles; but no sooner had the latter received the promised payment, than he escaped, secretly and in disguise, from Antwerp, and made the best of his way back to Guelderland^a.

This occurrence, however suspicious, did not delay 1506 Philip's departure; having conferred the general stadtholdership of the Netherlands on William de Croye, lord of Aarschot and Chievres, he set sail, with a fleet of forty ships, from Flushing. He preferred making the voyage by sea, since the recent marriage of Ferdinand with Germaine, daughter of the Count de Foix, and niece to the King of France, and the close alliance lately entered into between the two monarchs, led him to suspect, that if he attempted to pass through France, Ferdinand might use his influence successfully with

^a Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. vi., cap. 6. Snoi. Rer. Bat., lib. xii., p. 183.

^a J. Pontanus, Hist. Geld., 628—632.

Louis to detain him, especially as the latter had urged him more than once to delay his journey^b.

The misfortune he feared came upon him, though from another quarter. Being forced by stress of weather to put into the port of Weymouth, Sir Thomas Trenchard, a man of influence in that neighbourhood, suspicious of the arrival of so great a number of strangers, levied some forces with all possible expedition, and sent to apprise the court of the matter. When made acquainted with the circumstances, he invited the royal party to his house, and treated them with unbounded hospitality; but on Philip's expressing a desire to resume his voyage, he was informed, that it was necessary he should wait till orders were received from the king. Henry immediately on hearing of the arrival of the King of Castile, signified his intention of coming to visit him; and Philip, to save time, which was daily becoming more precious to him, hastened to Windsor. Here he found Henry anxious to detain him, in order that, by his means, he might gain possession of the person of the Earl of Suffolk, who had fled to the Netherlands for debt, and was accused of a conspiracy against the crown of England. He first proposed a renewal of the treaty of 1496*, and this being consented to, he

^b Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 35. Lettres du Roy Louis XII., tom. i., p. 36.

* This treaty, couched in very different terms from that which it professed to renew, was called "*malus intercursum*," or the "*bad treaty*," by the Netherlands: their right to fish on the English coast was not confirmed (although it does not appear that they were molested afterwards in the exercise of it); the English merchant ships going to Antwerp were exempted from the toll commonly called the *Hondt-toll*, and from the payment of port-dues at Bruges, Antwerp, Bergen, and Middleburg; the English were also permitted to sell cloth without restriction throughout the Netherlands, except in the province of Flanders. Bacon, Henry VII., p. 180. Rym. Fœd., p. 134, 135. It was

desired that the Earl of Suffolk should be delivered up to him. Even a request so disparaging to his honour, the King of Castile was not in a situation to refuse; he therefore only insisted on the condition that Suffolk's life should be spared. Henry, unwilling to lose sight of the king until he had the Earl of Suffolk in his power, then set on foot a negotiation of marriage between himself and Philip's sister Margaret, duchess of Savoy, who was again a widow. Philip agreed to this alliance, promising to pay 300,000 French crowns of gold as her portion, and 30,850 more by way of annuity. At length, after the arrival of the Earl of Suffolk, who was thrown into the tower, Philip was permitted to depart^c.

On his landing in Castile, the nobles unanimously declared in his favour, notwithstanding that Ferdinand had already been acknowledged as regent by the cortes; and the latter found himself obliged to resign the government into the hands of his son-in-law, and retire to his hereditary dominions of Arragon. Meanwhile the situation of De Croye, stadtholder of the Netherlands, was embarrassing in the extreme. Charles of Guelderland, immediately after his return to his duchy, sent to solicit assistance from Louis XII. of France, and recommenced hostilities by seizing upon the towns of Grol, Lochem, and Wageningen. The

^c Bacon's Henry VII., p. 177—179. Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 123—155.

subsequently modified by treaties made in 1516 and 1520. Rym. Fœd., p. 539, 714. Its provisions, indeed, seem never to have been fully carried out. *Idem*, 715. Philip, on the other hand, obtained from Henry an article which, however beneficial to his own interests, was highly injurious to the people; it was to the effect, that "the king of England will cause any rebels or fugitives from Philip's dominions to be seized and imprisoned, give him information of their being there, and deliver them up when demanded." Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 125, 144. This was granted, probably, in return for the surrender of the Earl of Suffolk.

demands made by Philip on the treasury, had left it entirely exhausted, and but little assistance was to be expected from the states, to whom he had promised that he would levy no more petitions until the term for which the present had been granted was expired: while the number of troops on foot amounted only to about 200 horse and 3000 infantry; a force totally inadequate to keep the field in case any subsidies should be sent to Guelderland from France^d. De Croye therefore proposed a truce, with a view to gain time for fresh supplies from Spain; and Charles, desirous of delaying operations till the arrival of the French auxiliaries, consented to the opening of negotiations at Diest^e.

In these difficulties, the hopes of the Netherlanders were directed to Henry VII. of England, who, by the treaty concluded in the spring, was contracted to Margaret, duchess-dowager of Savoy, sister to Philip. The extreme parsimony of his temper, however, rendered it little likely that he would afford them any aid in money, of which they stood principally in need, even had not his friendship towards them been somewhat cooled by the repugnance which the princess manifested to a match so unsuitable*. The Netherlanders therefore reaped no further benefit from his alliance than a promise which he obtained from Louis, that he would oblige the Duke of Guelderland to conclude the treaty^f.

The united remonstrances of the two kings to this effect met with no other answer from Charles, than a

^d Letter of De Croye to Philip in *Lettres de Louis XII.*, tom. i., p. 71, 72.

^e *Lettres de Louis XII.*, tom. i., p. 67, 74, 75.

^f *Idem*, p. 64, 89.

* Margaret was in her twenty-sixth year at the time of the contract, while Henry was nearly fifty.

direct refusal, and an attempt made by De Croye to surprise Nimeguen occasioned the rupture of the negotiations at Diest. A force of 400 horse and 2000 foot arrived in Guelderland shortly after from France; Louis at the same time declaring, that the assistance afforded to his relation and ally in nowise interfered with his friendly feelings towards Philip, with whom it was thought he desired to form a new treaty^a.

This, however, was prevented by the death of the latter, who had hardly enjoyed his power three months when a fever, caused by drinking cold liquid whilst violently heated with playing at tennis, terminated his existence in the twenty-ninth year of his age, leaving his wife Joanna overwhelmed with grief for his loss, although their union had proved anything but propitious. Entirely deficient in attractions, either of mind or person, Joanna failed to secure any return for the tender affection she lavished on her husband, who, on the contrary, treated her with undisguised coldness and neglect; and the fits of insanity to which the unhappy princess became subject from the time of her marriage, and which after his death settled into a confirmed lunacy, were said to have been mainly attributable to jealousy at his repeated infidelities^b.

The extreme beauty of Philip's personal appearance obtained for him the surname of "fair;" his other less flattering sobriquet of "croit conseil," was given him from his proneness to listen to the advice of the flatterers by whom he was surrounded^c. That he possessed but little capacity for affairs, is evident from his conduct in Guelderland, and his easy surrender of his rights over Friezland. Nevertheless his gentle and

^a Lettres du Roy Louis XII., tom. i., p. 59—66; 69, 88.

^b Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. vi., cap. 10. Idem, Elog. Phil., p. 367. Meteren, boek i., fol. 10.

^c De la Marche, liv. ii., chap. 16.

peaceful temper rendered him a far more suitable governor for the Netherlanders than either of his predecessors, Maximilian or Charles. During his short reign, he neither violated their privileges at home, nor engaged them in ruinous and unnecessary wars abroad; and though compelled on one occasion to consent to a disadvantageous treaty with England, he can by no means be accused of a general inattention to their commercial interests; while a bold and earnest remonstrance he presented to the court of Rome against the grievances experienced by his subjects in the delays and vexatious impositions practised in conferring benefices, and the improper persons appointed to them, proves his anxiety to maintain the rights of his people and the efficiency of the church^k.

Philip had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, successively emperors of Germany, and four daughters; Eleanor, married to Emmanuel, king of Portugal, afterwards to Francis I., king of France; Catherine, married to John, king of Portugal; Isabella, wife of Christian II., king of Denmark; and Mary, queen of Hungary, who, after the death of her husband Louis, was invested with the government of the Netherlands^l.

^k Miræi Dipl. Belg., tom. ii., p. 1269.

^l Meteren, boek i., fol. 9.

CHAPTER IV.

Margaret of Savoy appointed Governess of the Netherlands. Terms of her Acknowledgment. State of the Netherland Forces. Continuation of the War with Guelderland. Alliance with England. League of Cambray. War between Holland and the Hanse Towns. Peace. Political Situation of Louis of France. He negotiates a Treaty between the Duke of Guelderland and the Emperor Maximilian. Ill-success of his Mediation. Truce with Guelderland. War between France and the Emperor. General Peace. Interrupted by Charles of Guelderland. Affairs of Groningen. And Friezland. Maximilian surrenders the Government of the Netherlands to his Grandson. Transfer of Friezland to Charles. Treaty with France. Charles becomes King of Spain. Philip of Burgundy made Bishop of Utrecht. Progress of the Reformation in Holland. Charles elected Emperor. Visits England on his way from Spain to Germany. Confirms Margaret in the Government of the Netherlands. Innovations in the Constitution of Holland. Penal Edicts against the Reformers. Death of the first Martyr. War with France. Treaty for the Protection of Commerce and Fishery. Charles of Guelderland obtains a footing in Overyssel. Friezland submits to the Government of the Count of Holland. Its Constitution. War in Italy. Confederacy against France. Battle of Pavia. Armistice between the Netherlands and France. Petitions demanded from the States of Holland. Threatened Hostilities with Denmark and the Hanse Towns. Truce. Treaty of Madrid. Marriage of Charles. The Pope and King of England make alliance with France. War. Charles of Guelderland occupies Utrecht. States of Holland refuse the demands of the Governess. Plunder of the Hague by the Guelderlanders. States consent to grant Supplies. Truce with France and England. Utrecht Retaken. United to Holland and Brabant. Peace of Cambray. Penal Edicts against Heretics. Death of Margaret of Savoy.

CHARLES, prince of Castile, being scarcely more than six years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the Netherlands was once again placed in the hands of his grandfather Maximilian, as his legal guardian; but the emperor, little inclined to

withdraw himself from his numerous avocations for the sake of administering the affairs of his Netherland subjects, between whom and himself, not the slightest feeling of attachment had ever existed, appointed his 1507 daughter Margaret, duchess-dowager of Savoy, governess-general of these provinces. William de Croye, lord of Aarschot and Chievres, continued in the office of stadtholder of the Netherlands, while the education of the young prince was entrusted to Adrian Florence-son of Utrecht, professor at the high school of Louvain, a man of low birth, but admirably adapted, from his virtues and attainments, to direct the mind of his pupil in the path to excellence and knowledge^{a*}.

The governess, accompanied by the imperial deputies, made her public entry into Dordrecht, where the states of Holland, immediately after the investiture, in the hope of inducing her to restore some of their most important privileges, voted that the petitions which had lately been levied should henceforward be continued. They soon perceived, however, that they had little to expect in return. To the demands that the towns might be allowed their councils as formerly, to administer their affairs, and choose yearly a double number for the selection of the senate, and that the offices of the state should be given to natives only, the duchess replied, that she was bound to leave these matters as they had been in the time of Philip. The states also desired, that the supreme court of Holland

^a Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. vii., cap. 2 ; lib. viii., cap. 1. Snou. Rer. Bat., lib. xiii., p. 184.

* According to Du Bellay, liv. i., p. 2, Louis XII. was appointed by Philip guardian of his son ; but there is no allusion to it in Heuterus, in Snouius, or in the correspondence of Louis XII. ; and the historian mistakes the age of Charles, who, he says, was eleven years old at his father's death.

should not receive appeals in causes under 100 crowns* ; this request she promised to take into consideration. She consented that no letters of reprisal should be granted, without the advice, not only of the stadtholder and council, as in the time of Philip, but also of the states ; to the demand of the states, that the vassals of the county should not be forced to serve unless within its boundaries, and for a fair remuneration, the governess replied that she should in this particular adhere to the old custom^b†. After her installation in Holland, the governess was acknowledged in Zealand, where it does not appear that any conditions were proposed for her acceptance.

The harassing war with Guelderland gave Margaret no small anxiety, in her new government. The finances of the Netherlands had been so effectually drained by the unceasing prodigality of the princes of the house of Burgundy, that the provinces of Holland and Brabant, from want of sufficient funds to pay troops to defend themselves, were kept in constant terror by an enemy so insignificant as Charles van Egmond, whose chief resource lay in the scanty and precarious assistance afforded by France. The whole force of the Netherlands, even since a new levy had been made, consisted of no more than 700 or 800 horse, 1500 German foot-soldiers, and 3500 Netherlanders, of whom the latter, dispirited, and ill-equipped, were not much to be depended on ; while the whole of their

^b Groot Plakaat., deel. iv., bl. 10.

* The reason of this provision was, that wealthy suitors sometimes appealed to the supreme court, for no other purpose than that of wearying out the poorer party by expense.

† The heavy exactions lately levied under the name of Ruytergeld, or compensation for military service, had given rise to this demand of the states.

artillery amounted to two small field pieces, and ten or twelve falconets, with two horses to each^c. On the other hand, Charles of Guelderland was no better provided; for as he depended entirely on France for the payment of his troops, and no supplies arrived from thence, he was obliged to lead them into Brabant and Holland, in order that they might furnish themselves with necessaries from the booty they could obtain there. They plundered a few small places in the former country, when advancing into Holland, they made themselves masters of Muyden and Weesp, and even threatened Amsterdam itself: but a vigorous sally from a fort built between the Y and the Diemer, aided by a sharp fire from the vessels lying in both these waters, forced them to a hasty retreat. Charles, who was awaiting the issue of the attempt at Weesp, fearing, when he heard of its failure, that the Amsterdammers would besiege him in Gooiland, retired with all his forces into Guelderland^d.

Margaret, convinced that the surest method of weakening the Duke of Guelderland, was by depriving him of the assistance of France, concluded, in order to give that power sufficient employment elsewhere, a treaty of alliance and mutual defence with the King of England; and since Claude, daughter of Louis XII., the affianced bride of Prince Charles, had been in the year before espoused to Francis de Valois, a marriage was agreed upon between the young prince and Mary, daughter of Henry VII. The king was to give a portion of 250,000 crowns of gold, and the fulfilment of the contract was guaranteed under a penalty of 50,000 crowns by several of the Netherland nobles, and by the "good towns" of Dordrecht, Amsterdam,

^c Lettres du Roy Louis XII., tom. i., p. 99, 100.

^d Gugl. Hermann Bell. Gelr., p. 338—346.

Leyden, Middleburg, and Zierikzee. Yet, though the espousals were afterwards solemnized, the enfeebled condition of the king's health, and his death in the next year, prevented the beneficial effects which Margaret expected from this treaty^c.

In the next campaign the Netherland arms were successful in the capture of the fort of Pouderoij from the French and Guelderlanders; they likewise laid siege to Weesp, when a truce for six weeks was agreed upon preparatory to a final peace between Louis of France and the Duke of Guelderland on the one side, and Maximilian and Charles, prince of Castile, on the other^f. For this ostensible purpose Louis proposed a meeting between the Duchess Margaret and his prime minister, the Cardinal d'Amboise, in the autumn of the year 1508; the real object of the conference being the formation of the celebrated league of Cambray against Venice, which had so nearly proved the entire destruction of that ancient and powerful republic. The kings of France and Arragon, the pope Julius II., and the emperor, were parties to this confederacy, which was left open for the accession of the King of England and the Duke of Savoy. In framing it, the two ablest negotiators in Europe had sought to give it stability, as well by removing as far as possible all subjects of contention*, as by appropriating to each power such

^c Rym. Fæd., tom. xiii., p. 171—176, 191, 213, 239.

^f Lettres de Louis XII., tom. i., p. 122.

^g Lettres du Roy Louis XII., tom. i., p. 120. Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 59.

* This was not accomplished without vehement debates; one article, in particular, insisted on by Margaret, that the King of Navarre should be included as an ally of Maximilian, gave rise to such lively contests that Margaret writes to her ambassadors at the court of England, "they had a headache not seldom, and she and the cardinal were often on the point of pulling each other's hair." Lettres de Louis XII., tom. i., p. 132

portion of the territories to be conquered from Venice as it might be supposed most desirous of acquiring*. But they were not able to extinguish the embers of jealousy which still lay smouldering in the breasts of its several members. Within three months after the signing of the treaty, which took place on the 10th of December, symptoms of mistrust began to appear among the allies. The Pope, fearing the designs of the French, refused to attack the Venetians until the former had first opened the campaign; while Maximilian suspected, not without reason, that Louis secretly encouraged Charles of Guelderland to violate the truce, in order to engage his attention elsewhere, that he himself might be left to pursue his conquests in Italy without interference^h.

By the truce concluded at the same time with Charles of Guelderland, he was to restore Weesp and Muyden, and both parties were to retain their present possessions till his claims upon the duchy were decided by the arbitration of the emperor and the kings of France, England, and Scotland. Trade was to continue free between the two countries, and the King of France bound himself not to afford Charles any further assistanceⁱ. It is most probable that neither party had the slightest intention of adhering to this compromise. 1509 Charles did indeed unwillingly surrender Weesp and

^h Guicciardini Storia d'Italia, lib. viii., p. 414. Lettres de Louis XII., tom. i., p. 161, 162.

ⁱ Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 51, 52.

* Thus the emperor was to have Roveredo, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Friuli, and all that the Venetians possessed, which had belonged to the empire or Austria; to the Pope was allotted Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Cesena, while the King of France was to be put in possession of all the territory which had been dismembered from the duchy of Milan, namely, Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, and Chiaradadda. Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 29.

Muyden, but very shortly after, alleging that the Netherlands had broken the truce by laying Bommel under contribution, he recommenced hostilities.

Margaret, hereupon, sent ambassadors to the French court to complain to Louis of the conduct of his ally, and to require that he should henceforth entirely abandon him. This, however, Louis evaded, although he denied that he had promised him any assistance, and continued to use expressions of the sincerest friendship towards Maximilian, affecting to desire a marriage between the Duke of Guelderland and one of the sisters of the young Prince Charles. It is probable, indeed, that Charles of Guelderland did not receive any actual assistance from France, as his movements this summer were confined to ravaging the open country^k.

While embarrassed with the hostilities of Guelder- 1510 land, the Hollanders were involved in a war between John, king of Denmark, and the Hanse towns. During a long series of hostilities between Denmark and Sweden, the Hanse towns, in spite of recent treaties to the contrary, had persisted in carrying on their commerce with the latter nation, and the Danes, in consequence, seized their trading vessels. The Hanse towns, on the other hand, with a view of depriving Denmark of its profitable trade with Holland, published abroad that they would not permit any vessel to pass through the Sound under pain of forfeiture of ship and cargo; and without any further declaration of war, seized eight Dutch ships at Gripwalde^l.

In consequence of this hostile movement on the part of the Hanse towns, the towns of North Holland

^k Lettres de Louis XII., tom., p. 266, 271; tom. ii., p. 24, 28.

^l Velius Hoorn, bl. 98, 99. Hist. de Dannemarc de Mallet, tom. v., p. 361—369.

and West Friezland prepared a considerable fleet for the assistance of the King of Denmark, and having effected a junction with the Danish ships in the Baltic, they captured thirteen Hanse vessels in the port of Wismar, ravaged the island of Rugen, and made themselves masters of a rich booty. But not long after, the Lubekkers, having received a reinforcement from Stralsund, Wismar, Rostok, and Luneburg, fell in with a fleet of 200 Dutch ships near Dantzic, part of which they sunk, and dispersed the remainder, excepting
 1511 sixty, which they carried away prisoners: they were principally laden with copper, and the loss to the city of Hoorn alone was estimated at 20,000 Rhenish guilders^m. Notwithstanding this success, the Hanse towns, whose commerce was interrupted, and their supplies cut off by the Danish privateers, showed themselves willing to listen to terms of accommodation, and a convention was concluded between them and Denmark, which was followed by a treaty of peace in the ensuing year: the Hanse towns indemnifying the Holland merchants for a portion of the losses they had sustained during the warⁿ.

The peace between Denmark and the Hanse Towns gave occasion to Charles of Guelderland to renew hostilities with greater vigour, by enabling him to take into his pay 2000 foot soldiers dismissed the Danish service. With these he surprised Harderwyk and Bommel, and made himself master of Tiel and other small places^o.

Upon intelligence of these transactions, Louis of France despatched an ambassador to Guelderland, to

^m Hist. de Danne. de Mallet, tom. v., p. 370. Velius Hoorn, bl. 99.

ⁿ Groote Chronyk, divis. xxxii., cap. 40. Hist. de Danne. de Mallet, tom. v., pp. 372, 373.

^o Lettres du Roy Louis XII., tom. ii., p. 116—120. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. vii., cap. 3.

prevail on Charles to restore Harderwyk. But whether the minister were furnished with secret instructions to the contrary, or that Charles thought himself sufficiently strong to refuse compliance with the request of Louis, he not only showed himself disinclined to deliver up the town, but committed further injuries against the Netherlanders, by seizing eighty of their merchants, travelling from Cologne to Frankfort^p. As Louis vehemently denied the accusation of insincerity in this affair, and disclaimed having made any offer or promise of assistance to the Duke of Guelderland^q, it is probable that Charles was chiefly encouraged to persevere in the war by his knowledge of the low condition of the treasury in the Netherlands, and the small force then assembled for their defence. Such was the wretched state of exhaustion to which the continued prodigality of their sovereigns had reduced these once rich and flourishing provinces, that Margaret was unable to collect sufficient funds to defray the expenses of her ambassadors at foreign courts, whose demands of arrears and complaints of non-payment were incessant; and the same cause prevented her sending deputies to the council of Pisa, summoned in this year by Louis XII.^r Nevertheless, the fears entertained by Holland of a new irruption on the part of Charles of Guelderland, enabled her to obtain the consent of the states assembled at Breda, that the war subsidies should be continued for three years longer. Only 1500 German foot soldiers were now in the field, the remainder of the troops being distributed among the several garrisons belonging to Margaret in Guelderland, when a seasonable succour of 1500 infantry arrived from England, under the command of Sir

^p Lettres de Louis XII., tom. ii., p. 126, 157, 158.

^q Idem, p. 190, 210, 211, 256.

^r Idem, passim, tom. iii., p. 90.

Edward Poynings: By laying siege to Venloo, they kept Duke Charles's troops employed during the whole summer, but not sufficiently numerous to blockade the town; and failing in three attempts to carry it by assault, the siege was at length raised, and the troops, at the approach of winter, returned to their own country^s.

Whatever may have been the sincerity of Louis's endeavours hitherto to effect a pacification between the Duke of Guelderland and Maximilian, a change now took place in the affairs of Italy, of such importance, as to leave him little either of power or inclination to support so burdensome an ally. By an article of the treaty of Cambray, it was provided, that no one of the confederates should make a peace or truce with the Venetians, without consent of the whole^t. All the contracting parties successively violated this engage-
 1512 ment. Pope Julius II. quickly repenting of the measures which his headstrong and shortsighted anger against the Venetians impelled him to pursue, and dreading the increase of the power of France so near his own states, bent his whole soul upon the project of again expelling "the barbarians" from Italy; for this purpose, he made an alliance with his former enemies, and, in conjunction with them, attacked the French in their newly-made conquests of Milan and Genoa. He had, likewise, invited to this alliance Ferdinand of Arragon, and had been the principal instrument in forming a confederacy between him and Henry VIII. of England, whereby Henry engaged to invade Guienne in concert with Ferdinand^u.

The emperor, the only one of the great powers of

^s Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 302. Lettres de Louis XII., tom. ii., p. 131. Letter of the Governess to Maximilian, tom. iii., p. 88, 89.

^t Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 61.

^u Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 311 et seq.

Europe not yet in actual hostility against Louis, made it a condition of the continuation of such friendship as he still thought it advisable to profess towards him, that he should renounce entirely the protection of the Duke of Guelderland. Louis, therefore, at length applied himself sincerely and earnestly to the mediation of a treaty between Charles and Maximilian, greatly to the advantage of the Netherlands. The conditions offered by the emperor and Margaret were, that Charles should engage in the service of the Prince of Castile, where he should be honourably entertained; that he should possess Guelderland and Zutphen only as stadtholder of the emperor; that the emperor might resume the duchy upon payment of a reasonable sum; and lastly, that things should be restored to the same state as they were at the time of the peace of Cambray. Charles, though he professed himself willing to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation, absolutely rejected all these demands, although a report was current, that 15,000 of the troops from England, which had lately been landed at Calais, were to be employed on behalf of the emperor in Guelderland^v.

Upon the rupture of these negotiations, Charles advanced with 1100 men to Amsterdam, burnt the suburb, and destroyed some vessels lying in the old Waal. The Guelderlanders then retreated to the Carthusian monastery, near Utrecht, where the Lord of Wassenaar, making an attempt to dislodge them, at the head of only 400 men, was defeated, and taken prisoner. It is supposed, that, if Charles had at this time possessed sufficient funds to pay his soldiers for only two months longer, he would have reduced Holland to the last extremity; since the endeavours of Maximilian to raise troops or money were attended

^v Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iii., p. 128, 141, 150, 224—7.

with slender success, and he either would not, or could not, repair in person to the assistance of his daughter in the Netherlands, unless a sum of 10,000 guilders, at 1513 the least, were provided for his travelling expenses*. Fortunately for Holland, the war with England, and the powerful league formed against Louis in Italy, rendered it utterly impossible for him to afford Charles the subsidies he so earnestly desired. The circumstances of both parties thus inclining them to pacific measures, a truce for four years was concluded, to commence on the 1st of August^w.

Maximilian now no longer seeking to conceal his unfriendly feelings towards Louis, entered into the alliance of the Pope and the Kings of Arragon and England, each party binding itself to make war on France within two months. The emperor, although professing that he had agreed to the treaty only in his own person, and not in the quality of guardian to his grandson, yet gave the English unlimited permission to levy troops in the Netherlands, and hire vessels in Holland and Zealand. To the remonstrances of Louis on this subject, Margaret did not hesitate to declare, that it was without her knowledge or connivance that her subjects enlisted into the English service, notwithstanding that she was at the same time receiving the sum of 200,000 crowns of gold to maintain a body of 4000 horse and 6000 foot for the service of Henry in

^w Groote Chronyk, divis. xxxii., cap. 41. Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iii., p. 159 ; tom. iv., p. 13, 20. Velius Hoorn, bl. 100.

* The plea of poverty advanced by Maximilian the "Moneyless" was most likely real, since he had been under the necessity of pawning a valuable setting of jewels, called the "riche fleur de lis," and containing a portion of the true cross, to the King of England, for 50,000 golden crowns.—Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 234, 240, 241.

the Netherlands*. This dubious policy met with the usual fate of half measures, that of satisfying neither party; Louis wrote to the citizens of Ghent, and the other towns of Flanders and Artois, to threaten them with the effects of his heavy displeasure, if they afforded any succours to his enemies, and declared to Margaret, that it was only the tender age of the Prince of Castile that prevented his summoning him in respect of these fiefs, to do service in the war against the English. Henry, on his side, complained, that the governess, by a command she had issued, forbidding the Netherland troops in his pay to commit hostilities in France, had violated the substance of the agreement made between them†.

Neither did England‡ and the Netherlands observe with more fidelity towards each other the contract of marriage which had now existed for nearly seven years between the young Prince of Castile, and Mary, sister of Henry VIII. It had been agreed that the nuptials 1514 should be completed as soon as Charles attained the age of fourteen, and the ceremony was fixed by the English monarch to take place at Calais, in the month of May of this year‡. But Maximilian, whose character it was “to leave things when they were almost come to perfection, and end them by imagination,” objected to this place of meeting, and required a further delay; and notwithstanding the heavy penalty under which the towns and nobles had guaranteed the treaty, and that Margaret, deeply anxious for the alliance, and weary of the vacillating policy of her father, pressed him with sharp remonstrances to come to a speedy

* Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 355, 356, 380. Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iv., p. 110, 137, 154, 217.

† Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iv., p. 120, 137, 356.

‡ Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 381.

• Bacon's Henry VII., p. 67.

conclusion, he not only refused to repair to Calais, and neglected to send, in compliance with the treaty, an ambassador to England with full powers to celebrate the marriage by proxy, but even entered into a negotiation with Louis of France, for the marriage of his grandson to Renée, daughter of that monarch. Henry considered himself justified by this conduct in accepting the offers made him by the King of France; and concluding a peace with that country, bestowed on Louis, then at the age of fifty-two, the hand of his youthful sister Mary, at that time one of the most beautiful and graceful women in Europe^b. Louis had, in the beginning of the year, effected a peace with the republic of Venice, and a truce for a year with Ferdinand of Arragon: the empire was included as an ally of England in the peace with France, and the accession of the young Prince of Castile was notified shortly after^c. But the repose which should have followed this general pacification, was disturbed by the restless spirit of Charles of Guelderland, who, after his truce with Margaret, found a new theatre of action in Groningen and Friezland. Albert of Saxony, the imperial stadtholder of Friezland, had at the same time been appointed stadtholder of Groningen. But the inhabitants of this province, anciently belonging to the bishopric of Utrecht, refused to acknowledge Albert; and, finding the bishop unable to protect them, had placed themselves under the government of Edward, count of East Friezland, in the year 1506. Since that time Edward had not only been able to maintain himself in Groningen in defiance of Duke George of Saxony,

^b Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iv., p. 271, 305, 319, 338. Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 91. Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 413, 431.

^c Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 93, 100. Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 419, 457.

who had succeeded Albert as imperial stadtholder, but, by means of a secret understanding with the Friezlanders, had attempted to reduce that province also under his dominion. George of Saxony, forming an alliance with the Bishop of Utrecht, invaded Groningen, and laid siege to the city; and the Count of East Friezland, unable to procure auxiliaries from Holland, besought the assistance of Charles of Guelderland^d. An admirable opportunity was thus afforded to this ambitious prince, for taking measures to extend his own authority in Groningen and Friezland, under pretext of assisting his ally. Repairing in person to the court of France, he negotiated a treaty between Louis and Count Edward, whereby the latter was to hold Groningen as a fief of the French crown, and he himself received a command, as the liegeman of the king, to secure the count in his possessions. This he engaged to do, on condition that Edward should pay him 35,000 guilders. With difficulty Edward collected half this sum, and by means of these slender resources Charles contrived to raise an army by the September of the same year^e. Duke George of Saxony, meanwhile engaged at the siege of Groningen, sent ambassadors into France to represent to Louis, that Groningen being a fief of the empire, any interference on his part in its affairs, would be a violation of the peace, and to desire that he would neither receive the allegiance of Edward, nor permit his vassal, Charles of Guelderland, to commit hostilities there. This remonstrance had no effect; and Charles, perceiving that Count Edward had not sufficient forces to oppose his designs, proposed to the citizens of Groningen, that as there appeared no other means of ridding themselves

^d Bening. Chron. Orient. Fris. apud Matthæi Analecta, p. 236.

^e Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iv., p. 318. Bening., p. 251, 257.

of the Saxons, they should acknowledge him as their sovereign, under the King of France; threatening, if they refused, to surrender them to the mercy of Duke George. Hardly a choice being left to the inhabitants, they did homage to the Duke of Guelderland in the person of his marshal, William van Oye, and Count Edward renounced in his favour all right over Groningen and the Ommeland^f.

After thus possessing himself of Groningen, Duke Charles, upon the invitation of some of the inhabitants of Friezland, who were dissatisfied with the Saxon government, manned a number of ships at Harderwyk, 1515 and sent them to effect a landing in that province. The success of the expedition was almost instantaneous. Sneek, Bolsward, and several other towns, were mastered with but faint resistance; and the Duke of Saxony, on the tidings of these events, suddenly broke up his camp in Friezland, and withdrew into Germany, leaving his troops unpaid. These soldiers, abandoned by their leader, and without any other means of subsistence than plunder, became, by their licentiousness and rapine, a terror to the provinces of Friezland, Overysse, and Utrecht, where they were known by the name of “zwarten hoop,” or black band^g.

While matters were in this confusion in Friezland and Groningen, Maximilian, who from poverty was unable, or from the dislike with which he had always viewed his Netherland subjects, was unwilling to visit them in person, determined now to relieve himself of the guardianship both of his grandson and his states. Charles was at this time no more than fifteen; but besides being an adept in all military exercises, he was already well skilled in the language and history of the

^f Lettres de Louis XII., tom. iv., p. 381, 382. Bening., p. 258—261.

^g Lettres de Louis XII., 265—275. Velius Hoorn, bl. 106.

principal countries of Europe*, and had given proofs of such superior intelligence, gravity, and application, that he was universally considered as capable of being entrusted with the government. He was therefore acknowledged in the spring of this year as sovereign in Brabant and Flanders, and early in the summer in Holland and Zeeland, having first taken the oath to maintain their privileges^b.

Soon after his accession, George of Saxony made an attempt to repossess himself of Friezland, which proving unsuccessful, he transferred his right to that state to the new sovereign of the Netherlands for the sum of 350,000 Rhenish guilders. Charles sent thither Egmond, count of Buuren, who received the oath of allegiance in his name from Leeuwarden, Franeker, and the rest of those places which had not Guelderland garrisons^c. To provide for the payment of the sum stipulated, a general assessment was made on the houses and lands in Holland, and a capitation tax levied: it appears that only 200,030 acres† of land and 35,000 houses were assessed, the remainder being either church-lands, abbeys, or such as, belonging to the nobility, claimed an exemption from the county taxes, and that the capitation tax was paid by no more than 172,000 persons, the rest of the population, consisting either of clergy, nobles, or those whose plea of poverty was admitted for non-payment: we are not,

^b Reigersberg, deel. ii., bl. 384—387. Boxhorn op Reig., deel, ii., bl. 613.

^c Pont. Hent. Rer. Aust., lib. vii., cap. 11.

* He could not, however, be induced by any means to learn Latin, for which he afterwards expressed deep regret, being, when emperor, unable to understand the Latin orations of the several ambassadors at his court. Hent. Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 1.

† The Dutch acre containing about two English acres.

however, able to estimate the number of these classes of the people, since the Netherlanders were never accustomed to take any census of their population in general, but to reckon those only who were able to bear arms, and liable to pay the land-tax^j.

The marriage treaty which had been set on foot by Maximilian in the year 1513, between Charles and Renée, second daughter of Louis XII., was confirmed
 1515 by the young prince on his accession, and an alliance of commerce and friendship made at the same time with Francis I., who had now succeeded Louis on the throne of France. To testify his gratification at the prospect of this union, Francis, on the request of Charles, consented to the marriage of Henry, count of Nassau, the favoured follower of the latter, and whom he had appointed Stadtholder of Holland, with Claude, sister of Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange; by which marriage the principality of Orange, on the death of Philibert without issue, devolved on
 1516 the house of Nassau. On the death of his grandfather Ferdinand, king of Arragon, Charles, although his mother was still alive, assumed the title of King of Spain, and in this quality renewed his alliance with France, engaging to marry, not Renée, but Louise, the infant daughter of Francis^k. As it was necessary that he should repair to Spain for the ceremony of his coro-
 1517 nation, he confided the government of the Netherlands to his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, nominating a privy council to assist her in the administration of affairs^l.

The influence which Philip the Good had obtained in Utrecht, by the nomination of his natural son David to the bishopric, had again been lost under the admi-

^j *Vaterlandsche Hist.*, iv. deel., bl. 391. *Guicc, Belg. Des.*, tom. i., p. 205.

^k *Recueil des Traités*, tom. ii., p. 117, 141.

^l *Groot Plakaat.*, deel. vi., bl. 13.

nistration of his successor, Frederick of Baden: the Utrechters having frequently sided with the Guelderlanders in their wars against Holland. But Frederick, now weary of the cares of government, which he had sustained more than twenty years, was desirous of surrendering his bishopric, if an adequate remuneration were offered him. Charles, to whom Utrecht was of the last importance, on account of the passage it afforded the Guelderlanders into Holland, soon agreed ¹⁵¹⁶ with Frederick upon the terms of his resignation in favour of Philip of Burgundy, another natural son of Philip the Good. As he was at this time an admiral, it was necessary to purchase the consent of the pope to his election with a good sum of money, and 12,000 ducats was the price paid for the papal bull in confirmation of it. The states of Utrecht, though unwilling to change masters, and fearful lest Charles should, as Duke Philip had done, possess himself of the whole temporal sovereignty of the bishopric, were yet too much in dread of his power, and their treasury was in too exhausted a condition to admit of their making any ¹⁵¹⁷ resistance: they therefore received their new bishop, insisting only upon some few conditions of slight importance. This occurred before the departure of Charles for Spain, but it was not until nearly a year had elapsed that Philip was admitted into holy orders, and consecrated to the seeⁿ.

It is one among the many instances of heedless rapacity, which Leo X. exhibited during the whole course of his reign, that he should at this critical period for the Catholic church, have been induced by pecuniary considerations to elevate to the episcopal dignity a man neither imbued with the dogmas of that

ⁿ Gerardus Noviomagus apud *Analecta Matthæi*, tom. i., p. 156—186. Heda in *Fred.*, p. 318, 319.

church, nor bred up in the learning of the schools, so favourable to her doctrines; and it cannot be doubted that the influence of Bishop Philip contributed in no small degree towards the spread of the principles of the Reformers, now fast gaining ground in Holland.

All are familiar with the causes and leading events of the phenomenon of modern times—the Reformation, of which, if Saxony was the nursing mother in its infancy, Holland was the guardian and defender of its maturer growth. Such a part, the character and disposition of her people peculiarly fitted her to perform. Partaking in a high degree of the enthusiastic spirit, and contemplative imagination, remarkable perhaps in the natives of Teutonic origin, the tangible and (if we may so express it) sensual mode of worship of the Romish church, was far less adapted to her moral nature than the purer, more mysterious, and more imaginative creed of the early Reformers; while the dissolute lives and extravagant luxury of the Catholic clergy were most unsuitable to the simple manners and frugal habits of the great body of the Dutch nation. We have seen that, as early as the reign of Philip the Good, men's minds were prepared for this great revolution; and had this prince opposed any violent obstacle to the current of public opinion, instead of gently turning it aside while appearing to yield to its force, it is most probable that, overleaping the barriers of custom and prejudice, (afterwards so much weakened by the diffusion of knowledge consequent on the invention of printing,) it would have hurried Holland so far forward in the march of events, that the rest of Europe being as yet unprepared to support her, she must have yielded in the struggle, and the reformed religion have been trampled under foot on that soil, where she has since raised her throne of

glory. The immediate exciting causes of the Reformation—the sale of indulgences under pretext of a war against the Turks, with the misapplication of the funds derived from that source, and the vehement disputes of the Franciscan and Dominican monks—operated no less strongly in Holland than in other countries; and the writings of Luther, printed and publicly sold in the neighbouring county of East Friezland, had found their way thither, where they were soon widely diffused, and greedily devoured.

Philip, bishop of Utrecht, exempt by his education and habits from all the bigotry of a churchman, hesitated not to express his conviction of the necessity of checking the rapacity of the clergy, of lessening the number of saints' days, and of substituting good and effective preachers in the place of the ignorant and careless monks, who but too frequently filled this office. He both practised and recommended the study of the Holy Scriptures, instead of the lives of the saints, which he considered as idle fables, and was a strong advocate for the marriage of the clergy. In these opinions he was fortified by the learned and illustrious Erasmus of Rotterdam, with whom he entertained a correspondence, and who was himself not opposed to many of the doctrines of Luther, however averse the headstrong character and violent proceedings of the latter may have been from his own gentle temper and Christian forbearance^a. Erasmus would have purified and repaired the venerable fabric of the Church with a light and cautious touch, fearful lest learning, virtue, and religion should be buried in its fall; while Luther struck at the tottering ruin with a bold and reckless hand, confident that a new and more beautiful temple would rise from its ashes.

^a Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek ii., bl. 62, 63.

Under the example and encouragement of such men as the Bishop of Utrecht and Erasmus, it was no wonder that the Netherlanders lent a willing ear to the new tenets, even if other circumstances had not prepared for them a favourable reception; nor was their diffusion materially checked by the subsequent persecution which the political situation of Charles, no less than his natural disposition, prompted him to exercise.

1519 The death of the Emperor Maximilian in the January of this year, gave occasion to a general war throughout Europe. Charles, king of Spain, and Francis I., of France, both claimants for the imperial dignity, professed towards each other a generous rivalry, without jealousy, and without animosity^o. But they greatly over-rated the strength of their own moderation, and the chagrin of Francis at the success of his competitor, was accompanied by so powerful an aversion, that it was never extinguished during the remainder of his life. He scrupled not to sacrifice to this passion all considerations of prudence and policy, and it was to gratify its immediate impulse, that he anxiously sought a pretext for declaring war against the new emperor.

Charles was in Spain at the time of his election, 1520 where he was detained until the May of the following year by the tumults that had arisen in consequence of his employment of Netherlanders in the administration of affairs^p. On his way to Germany he visited the court of England, where he remained some days, and during that time so successfully flattered the vanity,

^o Du Bellay, liv. i., p. 25.

^p Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 4.

and gratified the cupidity of Wolsey, the favourite and prime minister of Henry VIII., that by his means he attached the king firmly to his interests^a. In passing through the Netherlands the states voted him a subsidy of 200,000 crowns to defray the expenses of his approaching coronation at Aix. The emperor once more confirmed the Duchess Margaret in the office of governess, appointing the Bishops of Liege and Utrecht as heads of a privy council which he appointed to assist her in the management of affairs, and made some other arrangements in the government of Holland and Zealand, such as manifested a strong disinclination to be fettered in the exercise of his authority by any popular rights. He gave the governess power to summon the states when and where she pleased; and they were commanded to abide by her instructions, not only generally, but on each particular question. The great council of Mechlin, as well as the supreme court of Holland, were to be subject to appeals before the governess in privy council. Thus a new power was created, unrecognized by the constitution, and superseding at once the legislative functions of the states and the administration of justice in the regular courts, while it deprived the supreme court of Holland of the dignity it had always enjoyed as council of the sovereign. He likewise ordered the supreme court of Holland to suspend or abrogate entirely, all such privileges as were appealed to against the execution of his ordinances^r.

These measures, destructive of the civil liberty of the Netherlands, were followed by restraints on the freedom of religious belief. Charles, desirous of strengthening himself by every means in his power 1521

^a Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., pp. 769, 771.

^r Groot Plakaatb., deel. ii., bl. 13.

against the threatened hostility of France, sought to gain the favour of the pope by publishing in the Netherlands his bull, condemning the heretical doctrines and writings of Luther. This he followed up by an edict, forbidding the printing or publishing of lampoons against the pope and clergy, or of any works on matters of faith, on pain of punishment according to temporal and spiritual justice; by which terms, as it afterwards appeared, the penalty of death was understood; and the like punishment was inflicted on all who should be convicted of holding heretical opinions, so much favour being extended to those who recanted, as to permit them to be beheaded, instead of burnt or buried alive, as were the obstinate and relapsed heretics. Notwithstanding the infringement upon the authority of the states, by pressing on them a measure of so much importance without their consent, or even previous knowledge, they ventured to offer no opposition to the publication of the edict either in Holland or Zealand*.

1522 As, nevertheless, the general disposition both of the governments of the towns and of the people occasioned its being but languidly carried into execution, the emperor, in the following year, appointed Francis van der Hulst, councillor of Brabant, to search out the Lutheran writings, as well as the followers of the reformed doctrines; and issued a new edict summoning every one suspected of heresy to appear within a certain time, that he may be "mercifully corrected, purified, and instructed^t." In the year 1525 another edict appeared, forbidding the study of the Epistles and

* Brandt's Hist. der Reform, boek ii., bl. 67, 70. Meteren Ned. Hist., boek i., fol. 10. Velius Hoorn, bl. 120.

^t Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek ii., bl. 71. Repert. der Plakaat van Holland, bl. 9.

other spiritual writings, directed probably against the new German translation of the Bible by Luther, which had been printed in Amsterdam two years before. About the time of the publication of this edict, the death of the first martyr in Holland signalled the commencement of the fearful persecution which afterwards desolated this devoted country. John Bakker, a priest of Woerden, who had married, and was accused of holding heretical opinions, was tried at the Hague, condemned to death, impaled, and burnt^u. He perished in silence and obscurity, but his blood was not shed in vain; from it sprung a "noble army of martyrs," who presented their undaunted breasts as a rampart to defend the struggling faith. Several more shared the same fate with Bakker, and many citizens of Amsterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, and other places expiated in solitary dungeons this newly-discovered crime.

If the complaisance of Charles towards the pope were hostile to the religious views of the Dutch, so was his enmity towards France prejudicial to their financial and commercial interests. The pretext for war which Francis desired so much to find, was not far to seek. The possession of the kingdom of Navarre, disputed since 1512 between the crowns of France and Spain, afforded one always ready at hand; and it was with the invasion of this state that Francis began the campaign early in 1521, while Charles was yet embarrassed by the disputes between his Spanish subjects and his Netherland ministers^v.

For a time the fortune of war was favourable to the French, but a total defeat in a pitched battle fought near Pampeluna, afterwards threw the whole of Navarre, except Fontarabia, into the hands of the

^u Brandt's Hist. Ref., boek ii., bl. 92—96.

^v Pont. Heut, Rer, Aust., lib. viii., cap. 8, p. 193.

Spaniards. Meanwhile the Count of Nassau, stadtholder of Holland, invaded Champagne by order of the emperor, received Monson by capitulation, and invested Mezieres, which, defended by the Chevalier Bayard, sustained the siege until a reinforcement of troops and provisions arrived from the French army, when Nassau, despairing of carrying the town either by assault or famine, determined upon a retreat; Monson was soon re-captured, Hedin and some smaller places surrendered to the French arms, while, on the other hand, Tournay was taken by the imperialists after a siege of five months^v. For this war Holland was forced to supply troops from all her towns, and the vassals were summoned to serve, not the county, but the emperor^x. It does not appear that they made any remonstrance against this innovation, nor do I find that they ever ventured to assert their privilege of not serving beyond the boundaries of the county, except the war were undertaken with their own consent, under the princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria.

The anxious care of Margaret preserved the commerce and fisheries of Holland from much of the injury they would otherwise have suffered from these hosti-
 1521 lities, since, by her efforts, an agreement was concluded with the ambassadors of France at Calais, under the mediation of Wolsey, that the vessels engaged in the herring fishery should remain unmolested during the ensuing season, and that no merchant ships should be attacked by the subjects of either power, in the ports belonging to the King of England, more especially in the Downs^y.

The Duke of Guelderland, whether incited by

^v Mem. de Du Bellay, liv. i., chap. 37, 38, 47, 49.

^x Plakaat van Holland, bl. 9.

^y Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 182. Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 753.

France, or encouraged by the circumstance that the soldiers were drawn out of the Netherlands for the war with that country, ventured to come disguised into Holland, for the purpose of reconnoitring the frontiers, and singling out the most advantageous place of attack^a. The truce with him had been prolonged in 1515, under the mediation of Francis I., and often since renewed, but ill observed on both sides, particularly by sea, since Charles of Guelderland had constantly kept in his pay a freebooting captain, known and dreaded by the name of "Groote Pier," or great Peter, who, commanding some vessels manned by Friezlanders of the Guelderland party, kept Holland in terror, and rendered the Zuyderzee unsafe by his continual piracies; seizing all the herring boats or merchant ships he fell in with, and putting the crews to death without mercy^a. Whatever designs Charles may have formed upon Holland, were postponed by the occurrences which happened in Overysse, where, on the occasion of a dispute between Zwol and Kampen, he procured himself to be named protector of the former town, and having thus obtained a footing in the province, conquered the greater part of it, and obliged the Overysse to conclude a treaty with him, engaging to acknowledge no other Bishop of Utrecht after the death of Philip, unless he first swore to live in peace with the Guelderlanders^b.

The extension of his authority in Overysse was more than counterbalanced to Charles of Guelderland by the entire loss of Friesland. The burghers of Sneek, having forced the Guelderland garrison to surrender

^a Velius Hoorn, bl. 121.

^a Idem, bl. 110—115.

^b Pontanus, Hist. Gel., lib. xi., p. 704, Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 12.

the keys of the gates, changed the government, and invited the Hollanders into the province. A body of troops, therefore, under George Schenck and John van Wassenaar, accompanied by some of the Friezland nobles, landed near Staveren, of which they took possession. Immediately after the occupation of the town, Schenck summoned the states thither, when it was
 1522 agreed that the counts of Holland should henceforth govern Friezland in the name of the emperor, the states reserving to themselves the power of choosing a "Podestate," as of old, who should administer the affairs of the province in conjunction with a council of twelve of the principal nobles. The remainder of the
 1523 strong towns fell during the next year into the hands of Schenck, and thus Friezland, after so many centuries of obstinate and bloody wars, was finally reduced to submission under the Counts of Holland*.

The constitution of Friezland differed considerably from that of the other Netherland states, and was, perhaps, the purest relic that remained in Europe, of the old Saxon mode of government. Friezland was divided into three parts, Oostergouwe, Westergouwe, and Islegouwe, each having separate states, who deliberated alone, or in conjunction with the other two, according as the nature of the business required: these three divisions were again subdivided into twenty-eight districts, or bailliages, of which Oostergouwe comprised twelve, Westergouwe and Islegouwe eight each; the inhabitants of these districts chose each a "Grietman," or bailiff, who, with a certain number of assessors, administered and executed justice in his bailliage, was the guardian of the public peace, received fines, and collected taxes imposed by the states, combining thus

* Pontanus, lib. xi., p. 699. Heut., Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 19, p. 209.

the offices of judge, sheriff of a county, and treasurer; their office, as well as that of their assessors, was annual. Each bailliage sent two deputies to the states; the towns, eleven in number, had nothing in common with the rural districts, except that they sent each two deputies to the general assembly of the states of Friesland. The electors of the deputies from the bailliages were nobles, possessors of land, whether they let or cultivated it themselves, renters of land, and ministers of the church: the grietman had great influence in the elections, and was often named one of the deputies^d.

The death of Pope Leo X., who had done all that lay in his power to keep alive the animosities between the emperor and France, and the election to the papal see of Adrian Florenceson of Utrecht, formerly tutor to Charles, appeared likely to present an opportunity for pacific overtures; but Francis, dissatisfied that a pope should have been chosen so entirely in the emperor's interests, determined to carry on the war with renewed vigour, more particularly in Italy. The events of the campaign, however, proved most unpropitious to him; his general-in-chief, Lautrec, sustained a severe defeat at the Bicoque, a country house near Milan, and the Marshal de Foix, who succeeded him in the command, was forced to withdraw his troops 1522 from the whole of Lombardy, except the citadels of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona^e.

The favourable aspect of his affairs determined Charles to pass over into Spain, where fresh insurrections, amounting now to an actual civil war, urgently

^d Des. Belg. addit. ad Lud. Guic. Francis. Vitellii, tom. ii., p. 236, 237, 242.

^e Du Bellay, liv. ii., p. 60—70.

required his presence. Setting sail from Arnemuyden, in Zealand, he once more landed in England, where he renewed the alliance with Henry, each party engaging to invade France before the end of May, 1524. A marriage was also agreed upon between Charles and Mary, daughter of Henry (the same who afterwards married his son Philip), so soon as she should have attained the age of twelve years. The emperor, after a stay of six weeks in England, proceeded on his journey to Spain^f.

Another ally was soon added to this confederacy, in the person of Pope Adrian VI., who, though devoted to the interests of Charles, had hitherto so far preserved the appearance of neutrality, as to issue a bull, commanding the princes of Christendom to conclude a truce for three years, and to prepare themselves for war against the Turks^g. The rejection of this proposal by Francis, left Adrian at liberty to espouse the side of his former master, who was likewise supported in Italy by the Duke of Milan, and the republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Sienna, and Lucca. According to the terms of the treaty between the emperor and Henry VIII., the combined forces of the English and Netherlanders, the former commanded by the Duke of Suffolk, the latter by Egmond, count of Buuren, invaded Picardy; but the events of the campaign were limited to little more than an unsuccessful attempt to
 1523 capture Hedin. It was late in the next season before the Count de Buuren, at the head of 12,000 Netherlanders, joining the Duke of Suffolk with a like number of English, again marched into Picardy. The French, prudently evading a general engagement, threw strong garrisons into all the towns likely to be

^f Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 13.

^g Rym. Fœd., tom. xiii., p. 790.

besieged. The allies having mastered Bray, a small town on the Somme, besieged and took Montdidier, whence they proceeded to the Oise, and marched direct to within eleven leagues of Paris: but, fearful of being surrounded, from having left so many strong places behind them, they hastily retreated, abandoned Montdidier, and returned home without reaping the smallest permanent benefit from their great preparations^h. During this war, a decree was issued in Holland, prohibiting monks, or other ecclesiastics, from going into France, or coming thence into Holland, under pain of being tied up in a sack and drownedⁱ. From the extreme severity of this prohibition, we should be led to suppose that it had been the custom to employ these persons as spies.

The defection of the Duke of Bourbon, constable of France, (caused by the persecutions which Louise of Savoy, mother of the King of France, had raised against him, as well as by a secret discontent which he had nourished since the campaign of 1521 in the Netherlands, when the king deprived him of the command of the advanced guard, to bestow it on the Duke of Alençon^k,) brought a powerful coadjutor to the camp of the allies. In conjunction with the Spanish forces under the Marquis de Pescara, he laid siege to Marseilles, which he was forced by Francis to abandon, when he retired into Italy. Thither he was followed by the king, who having conquered the Milanese, laid siege to Pavia. The celebrated battle fought near the walls of this city, terminated, as it is well known, in the entire defeat of the French, and the capture of their monarch, who was conducted prisoner to Madrid^l. 1525

^h Du Bellay, liv. ii., p. 78, 82—97. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. viii., cap. 18, 19.

ⁱ Repert der Plakaat., bl. 11.

^k Du Bellay, liv. i., p. 45 ; liv. ii., p. 83.

^l Idem, liv. ii., p. 103—106, 119.

The news of this victory was received with the liveliest joy in Holland, as it gave hopes of an approaching peace. The governess despatched envoys without delay to England, to treat of a renewal of the truce, as far as regarded the fisheries, with the ambassador whom the Queen-mother of France sent to that court, upon the imprisonment of the king. This was followed by a general armistice for six months, negotiated at Breda between Anthony de Lalaing, count of Hochstradt, successor of Henry of Nassau as stadtholder of Holland, and Carondelet, bishop of Palermo deputies of Margaret on the one side, and De Warti, the ambassador of Louise, on the other^m. This cessation of arms, though short, was still a timely relief to the towns of Holland, from the heavy expenses attendant on the protection of their trade and fishing, which they were the less able to bear, since the repeated demands for subsidies had drained their resources to the lowest ebb.

The inevitable consequence of a prodigal expenditure of the national finances, the arbitrary and excessive taxation of the people, has so frequently occasioned the overthrow of the government attempting it; and the struggle of passions and resentments thereby called forth, has shaken so often the very foundations of the social edifice, that the termination of all disputes on this point, between a nation and its government, is watched by the politician with interest and anxiety. It is not to the sordid love of lucre that we must attribute the jealous care with which a people attached to freedom have always been observed to guard the public purse; but to the conviction that when they have once surrendered into the hands of their rulers so powerful an engine of oppression, they have given

^m Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 194.

them the means, not only of crushing liberty in its growth, but of striking a death-blow at its very root; of rendering the fountain of justice corrupt, and the press venal; and have left themselves destitute of the only method consistent with peace and order,—that of withholding supplies,—by which they might force their sovereigns to repair the defects, or abide by the principles of the constitution. This observation is confirmed by the fact, that the English and Dutch, the people most tenacious in refusing the demands, when suspicions of the designs of their courts, have in times of public necessity, or when secure of the proper application of the funds they contributed, cheerfully borne a burden of taxation, of which other nations could scarcely form an idea. The exhaustion of the public treasury, and the rash or arbitrary measures adopted to replenish it, were the source from whence sprung, not only the long wars between our own Charles I. and his parliament, and the French revolution in later times, but we shall ere long see Holland herself fearfully convulsed, owing to the same cause. It will not, therefore, be uninteresting to remark the devices used to obtain extraordinary supplies, by the delegates of a monarch so powerful as Charles, and the resistance opposed to his demands by the guardians of the interests of the commonwealth, whose strength, however, was vastly disproportioned to their integrity and diligence.

The harassing and ruinous wars which Holland had now for so protracted a period been compelled to sustain, had rendered the scarcity of money so great, that even the ordinary petitions were slowly and unwillingly produced, more particularly by the smaller towns, who complained that their proportions were rated too highly. To remedy this evil, Charles had, 1518 soon after his accession, appointed commissioners to

value the property of the inhabitants in general, and to divide an assessment of 60,000 guilders in relative proportions amongst the towns and the open country. This assessment, called the "Schildtalen*," remained in force during the whole life of Charles.

1525 In this year the governess made a petition extraordinary in behalf of the emperor, to the states of Holland, of 100,000 guilders for the defence of the country against the Guelderlanders. This the states refused; alleging that a truce with Guelderland was now in progress, and pleading the extreme poverty caused by the suspension of trade, and the heavy contributions levied on them since the death of King Philip. The deputy from the governess, Jeronimo van Dorpe, then lessened the demand to 80,000 guilders, which was in like manner refused. In consequence of this failure, a fresh assembly was summoned at Geertruydenberg, where the Count of Hochstradt, stadtholder of Holland, used his influence with each of the deputies separately, to induce them to consent to the petition. To those of Delft, which had shown itself the most backward in compliance, and whose quota of the 80,000 guilders was 6800, he promised a quittance of the half of the sum, if they would consent to give their vote in favour of the petition; and as the deputies objected, that the town was too much in debt to take upon itself any new burden; from persuasion he had recourse to threats, affirming that "the welfare of the town depended on the emperor, and that if they consented to the petition, endeavours should be made to relieve them of their debts; but if not, commissioners should be sent to Delft, who would examine their accounts, change the

* Schild is an old coin, value fifteen pence, and "tal" means number; therefore, by "Schildtalen," is understood the number of schilds each town or village had to pay.

government, and do many other things which would prove very vexatious to them." He used similar arguments with the deputies of the other towns, who at length promised to make a report to their constituents, and obtain, if possible, a more favourable answer. On their reunion at Breda, the nobles and towns voted compliance with the emperor's demand, except Delft, Leyden, Gouda, Alkmaar, Gorinchem, and Oudewater, who excused themselves on the plea of poverty. The petition was at length leviedⁿ. The Netherland towns granted the pecuniary demands of their sovereign, the more reluctantly, since they were now threatened with a war, of all others, the most injurious to their commerce. Christian II., king of Denmark, having fled in the year 1523 from his rebellious subjects, to whom he had made himself obnoxious by his tyranny and cruelty, sought refuge in the Netherlands, and his seat on the Danish throne was filled by Frederic, duke of Holstein, the friend and ally of Lubek, and the Hanse towns of the Baltic. Christian, having in vain endeavoured to procure assistance from the King of England, and some of the princes of Germany, fitted out in the beginning of this year, five men-of-war at Veere, in Zealand, commissioned to cruise against the Hanse towns, without consent or permission of the states either of Holland or Zealand, who feared lest this proceeding might occasion the recal of a licence which Frederic had granted the year before to the Netherlanders, to carry on a free trade throughout his kingdom. Soon after Christian had fixed his residence in the Netherlands, the Hanse towns forbade the Hollanders and Zealanders the navigation of the Baltic, and laid an embargo on all the ships they found there; and the Hollanders saw with vexation that the mer-

ⁿ Register van Aert van der Goes, deel. i., bl. 8—20.

chants of those towns went to France to procure salt, which they themselves were accustomed to carry to all the northern countries. In answer to the earnest remonstrances of the Advocate of Holland, Aert van der Goes, Christian solemnly promised that he would send out no more ships from Zealand; but shortly after, intelligence was brought to Holland that a privateering galleon was again cruising under his colours. The governess, therefore, at the desire of the states, wrote to the town of Lubek, that this ship having put to sea without permission, the crew might be treated as pirates. They were, in fact, some time after captured by the Hamburghers, and put to death^o.

The Hollanders finding themselves unable to persuade the Hanse towns to make a separate truce with them, urgently besought the states of Zealand and Brabant to send ambassadors for this purpose to Lubek; but as they either were unwilling to restore the goods of the Hanse towns, or to pay the expenses of the embassy, they declined the proposal; and the governess took upon herself to obtain the consent of these provinces to whatever the Holland ambassadors should
1526 agree upon. A truce for two years was therefore concluded, during which time the injuries on both sides should be estimated, and compensation given^p.

1527 A peace was likewise made in the January of the next year, between the emperor and his prisoner the King of France, on such terms as might have been expected from their relative situations. Margaret having before made a separate armistice for the Netherlands, it concerned Holland no further than inasmuch as Francis promised to oblige Charles of Guel-

^o Hist. de Danne. de Mallet, tom. v., p. 593—599; tom. vi., p. 18, 19. Plakaat van Holland, bl. 9, 10. Reigersberg, deel. ii., bl. 415.

^p Aert van der Goes Regist., bl. 24—27.

derland to surrender all his possessions in Guelderland 1527 and Zutphen, in favour of the emperor, who should enter upon them immediately after the duke's death^a.

Although, as the war had now ceased, no pretext remained for demanding extraordinary supplies, the governess again required of the states a subsidy of 80,000 guilders, and the stadtholder Hochstradt was 1526 likewise commissioned to induce them to vote her a benevolence. He did not at once venture upon this novel and unprecedented requisition in the assembly, but first sounded the disposition of each of the deputies separately, observing, that Hainault and Brabant had not long before offered the duchess a present in acknowledgment of her excellent administration; and that Holland ought not to show itself less grateful, or to offer a less sum for her acceptance than 20,000 guilders. After some hesitation, the states consented to both demands, on condition that out of the petition then granted, to be paid annually, for the term of four year years, a fourth of the annuities of 5000 guilders, which the towns had borrowed on account of the emperor, should be liquidated; that the surplus should be applied wholly to the defence of the country; and that no new petition should be raised until this had run out, nor should the payment be demanded in any other coin than that received as current in the country^r.

The Emperor Charles, whom we have seen contracted successively to three princesses of France, and two of England*, at length married his own niece, Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, and

^a Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 230.

^r Aert van der Goes, bl. 23—32.

* First to Claude, eldest daughter of Louis XII., then to Mary, youngest daughter of Henry VII. of England, to Renée, third daughter of Louis XII., to Louise, daughter of Francis I., and lastly to Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII.

of Eleanor, his eldest sister. She gave birth in the next year to a son, Philip, afterwards so renowned as Philip II., king of Spain.

1527 The truce between the emperor and the King of France was not of long duration, since the latter had no sooner obtained his release, than he refused to ratify the treaty of Madrid, under the plea that it was extorted by force*. The political feelings of two of the courts of Europe, important allies of Charles, had now undergone a great change in favour of his rival Adrian VI., the only Netherlander ever raised to the papal chair, had enjoyed his power but a short time, since he died in 1523, the year after his elevation, and was succeeded by Clement VII., of the family of the Medici, and strongly inclined to the interests of France.

The issue of the battle of Pavia and the imprisonment of the French monarch had prostrated, to all appearance, the strength of the only nation which could serve as a counterpoise to the increasing power and influence of Charles. It is probable, therefore, that the King of England, after that event, began to be sensible of the grave error he had committed, in contributing to give to any one state so great a preponderance in the affairs of Europe. Accordingly, on the imprisonment of Francis, he hastened to conclude a treaty of peace with the queen-mother of France, promising to use his endeavours to obtain the release of the king upon reasonable conditions; and after the return of the latter to his kingdom he formed with him an alliance offensive and defensive, both kings engaging to prosecute the war jointly in the Netherlands with

* Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 5

* He made a secret protestation to this effect before the signature of the treaty, and in this manner excused to his conscience the notorious breach of faith he committed.—Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 210.

an army of 30,000 foot and 1000 men at arms[†]. The 1527 capture and sack of Rome by the emperor's troops under the constable of Bourbon, and the imprisonment of Pope Clement VII., by removing the scene of hostilities to Italy, spared the Netherlands for a time the miseries of a warfare conducted on their own soil, to promote interests in which they had no share, and to gratify passions with which they had no sympathy. Francis likewise bound himself to incite the Duke of Guelderland to a renewal of the war with Holland; and it was probably in consequence of his intrigues that Charles prepared himself for an attack on that province by gaining possession of Utrecht.

Henry of Bavaria, who in 1524 succeeded Philip of Burgundy in the bishopric, had promised to pay Charles of Guelderland a large sum of money, provided he would evacuate entirely Overysse, (or the upper bishopric). On the requisition of the bishop for a supply from the states of Utrecht for this purpose, the government of the town peremptorily refused to contribute, urging that it was already oppressed with heavy debts. Henry, therefore, proposed that a general capitation tax should be levied throughout the bishopric upon the nobility and clergy as well as the people, without distinction. But the two former estates showed themselves wholly unwilling to forego the privilege of exemption from taxes, which they deemed a right inherent in their constitution, and many among them applied themselves successfully to excite the people to disaffection[‡]. From this time the animosity between the bishop and his subjects continued to increase, frequently breaking out into open hostilities, until the summer of this year, when the bishop at-

[†] Rym. Fœd., tom. xiv., p. 52, 195.

[‡] Lambertus Hortensius Rer. Ultraject., lib. i., p. 17, 22, 23.

1527 tempting to enter the city at the head of a body of cavalry supplied him by Egmond, count of Buuren, for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants to submission, was forced to retire by the citizens, who instantly despatched messengers to solicit the aid of the Duke of Guelderland. Charles, whose ambitious designs were constantly backed by the counsels of France, eagerly snatched at this opportunity for extending his influence in Utrecht, and sent so large a number of troops into the city that the bishop, despairing of obtaining his readmission either by persuasion or force, since the states had publicly abrogated his authority, formed an encampment around Utrecht, and raised a fort on the banks of the vaart, or canal, with a view of stopping the passage of supplies^v.

Although the tidings of the occupation of Utrecht by Charles caused extreme consternation in Holland, yet the frontier towns, always jealous of the presence of foreign soldiers, would not consent to increase the number of their garrisons. In an assembly of the states held to devise means of providing for the security of the country, it was declared, that Amsterdam, having sent some troops under the command of a burgomaster to the fort of Muyden, defended only by a deputy-governor and two or three soldiers, they had been refused admittance; and that the same thing had occurred at Oudewater to some troops sent from Gouda. The governess, therefore, made a requisition through her council, that the states would levy 320 native soldiers at their own expense, for the protection of the boundaries; but to this the states unanimously replied, that they had no authority to comply with her desire, declaring that the last petition had been granted, and levied on the express promise, that a part

^v Lambert. Horten., lib. iv., p. 94, 95; lib. v., p. 97—103.

of its proceeds should be applied to the public defence. 1527
In a subsequent assembly, however, held in the October of the same year, the duchess succeeded in obtaining immediate payment of that portion of the subsidy which would fall due at Christmas, for the purpose of providing the frontiers with a force of 340 foot soldiers and 250 cavalry. The fortifications of the frontier towns were found in a miserable state of defence by the Lord of Castres, who inspected them in the quality of sub-stadtholder, having been appointed to that office by the stadtholder, Hochstradt, who judged that he could better serve the country by remaining at the court of the governess than by residing in Holland^w.

As the Duke of Guelderland was making rapid advances in the conquests of Utrecht, the bishop repaired in person to Schoonhoven, where he earnestly solicited immediate and effectual assistance, both in money and troops, of the deputies whom Margaret had sent thither to meet him. This requisition was referred to the consideration of the states at the Hague, whither the stadtholder himself repaired from Brussels. The stadtholder then desired to know from the deputies, where they considered the danger from the Guelderlanders most imminent, so that the Lord of Castres might take measures to avert it. Each of the towns, as might be expected, recommended that those places should be reinforced which were most essential to its own security. Having thus obtained the opinions of the deputies, and demonstrated from their own mouths the necessity of additional subsidies, he proposed, as they were preparing to separate, unsuspecting of any new demand, that on account of the war between France and the emperor, and in order to be prepared for the invasion of the

^w Aert van der Goes., bl. 44—51.

Guelderlanders, the states should grant a petition of 80,000 guilders, to be paid in two instalments, at Christmas and on St. John's day ensuing, towards the maintenance of 18,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, which had been decreed by the states-general of the Netherlands^z. But the deputies not being authorised to consent to any further grants of money, they were obliged to refer to their constituents, when Dordrecht alone voted for the subsidy, all the other towns pleading poverty and the decay of their trade; Delft, in particular, was so burdened with debt, that her citizens were constantly liable to arrest^{*}; they objected also, that these measures were likely to provoke the Duke of Guelderland to make an attack on Holland, whereas he had not long before sent letters to the council, expressing his desire to live on terms of friendship and good neighbourhood—wishing probably to defer hostilities with the province till he should have secured Utrecht. At length, however, all the states, except
 1528 Delft, consented to the demand of the governess, on the express condition that the monies should be applied to the defence of Holland alone, and in case of peace with France, to the service of the county, and according to the advice of the states^y. The requisition of the Bishop of Utrecht for succours had alone been laid before the states, the remainder of the negotiations being kept for a time carefully concealed, that they might afford another opportunity of assembling the states of Holland to demand subsidies. The deputies had separated little more than a month, when they were again summoned to Dordrecht, and informed,

^z Lambert Horten, lib. vi., p. 133. Aert van der Goes Regist., bl. 51, 52. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 9, p. 223.

^y Aert van der Goes, bl. 44, 53—55.

• Vide Chap. II.

through the medium of the Greffier (registrar), that 1528
“the Bishop of Utrecht, and deputies from Kampen, Zwol, and Deventer, had offered to surrender the whole temporalities of the bishopric to the emperor as Duke of Brabant and Count of Holland; and that the governess, reflecting how advantageous would be the possession of this state to Holland, Brabant, and Friezland, had accepted the offer in the emperor’s name^{*}; but that since a great portion of Overysse, although the states had acknowledged the emperor, was still in the power of Charles of Guelderland, its re-conquest, and the defence of the rest of the upper bishopric, would prove very expensive; and as the supplies already voted did not suffice for these exigencies, and the other Netherlands were sufficiently burdened by the support of the war with France, no better means of raising funds appeared (since Holland had so lately granted a petition of 80,000 guilders that the governess did not wish immediately to require another) than that the towns should become surety for a loan upon annuities of 5000 guilders a year, at 6½ per cent., to be paid by them for three years, the emperor promising to redeem them at the end of that time. The states agreed to this loan, under certain conditions relating to the defence of the county, and that the free exportation of foreign corn from Holland should be restored. The prohibition to export corn had been laid on during a season of scarcity some years before, and continued after the occasion which gave rise to it had ceased, since the granting of permits in favour of individuals brought no mean harvest into the imperial coffers. As it was, however, an innovation, to which the inhabitants of Holland were until latterly wholly unaccustomed, the towns required,

^{*} *Miræi Dipl. Belg.*, tom. i., p. 600, 603.

1528 as an indispensable condition to their becoming guarantees for the proposed loan, that the entire freedom of the corn trade should be first restored. The governess, having considered the conditions, declared that it was not in her power to take off the prohibition on the export of corn, since such a measure would tend to lessen the dignity of the emperor. This answer excited deep murmurs among the deputies, and it is probable that they would have withheld the loan altogether, had not an event occurred which hurried them on to a speedy conclusion^a.

This was the capture and sack of the Hague by the troops of Charles of Guelderland, who had placed a body of 2000 foot and 200 horse under the command of Martin van Rossem, lord of Pouderoy, a soldier of fortune in his service. Rossem, marching from Utrecht, under Austrian colours, passed unmolested by Woerden and Leyden, and suddenly appeared before the Hague, at the hour of midnight. Even had the attack been expected, the Hague, an open village, without walls, or even a troop of soldiers in the neighbourhood, was wholly incapable of resistance. No sooner, therefore, was the war-cry, "Guelder; Guelder!" of this band of pillagers heard, than the inhabitants fled in haste and dismay, leaving their money and all their valuable effects behind; the roads were crowded with fugitives, some of whom fell into the hands of their enemies; but more eager for plunder than slaughter, they killed no more than three. Two days and nights they revelled in undisturbed license; and scarcely able to carry away their booty, they filled beds, previously emptied of the feathers, with gold, silver, and jewels, with which they loaded wagons, boats, and every species of vehicle

^a Aert van der Goes, bl. 63—65.

they could find. At last the citizens obtained a cessa- 1528
tion of pillage by the payment of 20,000 guilders,
when the Guelderlanders returned to Utrecht, levying
heavy contributions on all the villages in their route^b.

It was found impossible to persuade the populace of
Holland, that Margaret had not connived at the
invasion of Martin van Rossem, in order to reduce the
states to her terms; the stadtholder, they said, had
neither kept soldiers prepared to repel this aggression,
nor would he permit the burgher guards of the neigh-
bouring towns to attack the Guelderlanders on their
retreat, when, enfeebled by excess, and laden with
booty, they might have been easily overcome. Added
to this, the few houses which remained untouched
belonged to her courtiers, and the archives of the
council of state were preserved^c. Whether or not
their suspicions were well founded, the effect was
undeniable; for the states having assembled at Delft,
petitioned the governess to send immediately the stadtholder,
Hochstradt, and the Count of Buuren, captain-general,
to Holland, to stop the further incursions of the
Guelderlanders, and unanimously consented to
guarantee the annuities of 5000 guilders without any
condition; the six great towns, moreover, as it did not
readily find purchasers, bound themselves to contribute
each 2000 guilders a month, towards the payment of
8000 infantry and 500 cavalry, to be levied for the
defence of the county; the remainder of 20,000 guilders
a month, the estimated cost of their entertainment,
was to be drawn from the monasteries, or such other
sources as might seem most available. Besides the
levy of land troops, the Hollanders filled the rivers and

^b Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 9, p. 224. Lambert. Horten., p. 140
and note.

^c Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 9, p. 224. Lambert. Horten., p. 141.

1628 channels with vessels, both large and small; they likewise entered into an union for three months with the towns of Brabant, the latter engaging to pay 48,000 guilders towards the war with Guelderland, and the towns of Holland 32,000. At the same assembly, the states consented to anticipate the next payment of the petition, and promised to guarantee a further loan to the emperor of 2000 guilders' annuity, at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent^d.

In return for this liberality, the stadtholder having summoned the states to Mechlin, communicated to them the welcome intelligence, that the emperor had concluded a truce for eight months with France and England, which secured to the Netherlands free navigation and fishery on the coasts of both countries. This information was accompanied by a declaration, new, and not a little startling to the ears of Hollanders; the stadtholder observing that "the emperor, because they had heartily supported him in the war, had shown them greater honour than was their due, since it was free for him to make either peace or truce, without the knowledge or consent of his subjects^e." It was a special provision of the Dutch constitution, that the counts could not make war or peace without consulting the nobles and "good towns^f," the principle of which they were hardly prepared to hear disputed, however much it may have been lost sight of in practice; they, nevertheless, thanked the stadtholder for the honour done them, without any further remark. Although a stipulation was made in the truce with France, that the Duke of Guelderland should be at

^d Aert van der Goes Regist., bl. 79—82.

^e Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 338. Rym. Foed., tom. xiv., p. 259. Aert van der Goes Regist., bl. 84.

^f Handvesten van 1346 in Groot Plakaatb., deel. v., bl. 113. De Witt. Politische Gronden, &c., deel. ii., cap. 3, p. 233. Grotius de Ant. Reip. Bat., p. 61,

liberty to accede to it, on condition that he previously 1528 evacuated the city of Utrecht, and all the places he occupied in Overijssel, Groningen, and the Ommeland, the Hollanders did not wait for the declaration of his intentions, but proceeded without delay to revenge the injuries he had committed on them by the plunder of the Hague. The Count of Buuren, who, before the conclusion of the truce, had, in conjunction with George Schenck, reduced Hattem in Guelderland, shortly after made himself master of Elberg and Harderwyk, about the same time that Utrecht was surprised and taken by one William Turk, in the service of the bishop^s.

On the capture of Utrecht, the states of Holland earnestly petitioned that the city and the lower bishopric might be united to their county, and even offered a large sum of money to give weight to their solicitations; but as Brabant, as well as Holland, had contributed to sustain the war against the Guelderlanders, the states of Utrecht surrendered that province and Overijssel to the emperor, as Duke of Brabant and Count of Holland. This event was soon followed by a peace with the Duke of Guelderland, who engaged to hold henceforward Guelderland and Zutphen as a fief of the emperor, in the quality of Duke of Brabant and Count of Holland, to surrender Groningen, the Ommeland, Coevoerden, and Drent; and to abandon the alliance of France for that of the emperor, who, on his side, was to pay Duke Charles 3000 guilders yearly, and to abstain from using the name and arms of the duchy of Guelderland and Zutphen; if the duke should die without issue male, his states were to revert to the heirs of the emperor, Dukes of Brabant and Counts of Holland^h.

^s Lambert. Horten., liv. vi., p. 149—157.

^h Aert van der Goes, bl. 84. Meteren Ned. Hist., fol. ix. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 11.

At the time of the conclusion of the truce between the emperor and Kings of France and England, all parties were sufficiently inclined towards a permanent peace; the emperor foresaw that the princes of Germany who had embraced the Lutheran doctrines, were likely to give him full employment in his own states; Henry was absorbed by his disputes with the papal see, on the subject of his divorce from Catherine of Arragon; while the long wars, joined to the prodigality of the court, had utterly drained the resources of France; added to which, the last campaign in Naples had been signalized by heavy misfortunes attendant on the French arms. Before its expiration, therefore, negotiations for a final peace had been begun at Cambray, and prolonged for a considerable time, when, in 1529 the July of the next year, Louise, queen-mother of France, and Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, repaired thither, and brought matters to a speedy termination¹*. By this treaty, which is generally termed the "Ladies' Peace," that of Madrid was confirmed, the claim of suzerainty over the counties of Flanders and Artois was surrendered by the King of France, and the "droit d'aubaine," a law by which the property of a person dying in a foreign country became forfeited to the sovereign of the place where he died, was abolished, as far as regarded the French in the Netherlands, or the Netherlanders in France. On the same day, a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the emperor and King of England, by which the freedom of trade with England was entirely

¹ Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. x., cap. 3, p. 233.

* Du Bellay (liv. iii., p. 156) fixes this meeting in May, 1530; but this must be an error, since both treaties are dated August 3, 1529.—Vide Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 146; and Dumont Corps Dip., tom. iv., p. 2, pa. 42.

restored to the Netherlands. The emperor had before 1529 effected a separate peace with the pope, upon terms surprisingly favourable to the latter^k, probably, to induce him to perform the ceremony of his coronation, which he did at Bologna in the February of the year following.

The general pacification of Europe gave the emperor leisure to pursue measures for arresting the progress of heresy in his dominions, which his own conduct to the pope, and the virulent manifesto he had published against him at the time of their quarrel, had contributed not a little to encourage. The whole of Holland was accused of being infected with the new doctrines, particularly the towns of Delft and Amsterdam; and this suspicion was the more strongly confirmed, since the senate of the latter would neither take any measures itself against the heretics, nor allow of their being brought to trial at Louvain, which, as they justly asserted, would be a violation of their privileges. The celebrated Protest against the decree of the Diet at Spires, which gave the name of Protestants to the professors of the new doctrines, was followed by the renewal of the penal edicts against the Reformers. Of these, one appeared in Holland, in the October of this year, by which obstinate heretics were condemned, if men, to death by the sword, and if women, to be buried alive*. Relapsed heretics, that

^k Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 351, 358. Dumont Corps Dip., tom. iv., p. 2, pa. 42.

* The usual mode of executing this punishment was to lay the sufferer in a deep open coffin, placed on the scaffold, of a length and breadth just sufficient to contain her; three iron bars were then placed, one on the neck, another on the stomach, and another on the legs; through a hole at the upper end of the coffin was passed a rope, fastened round the neck, which the executioner drew tight from under the scaffold, as the body was covered with earth.

1529 is those who recanted, and again returned to heresy, were condemned to be burned at the stake. The governess had shown herself not unwilling to reform some of the most flagrant abuses prevalent among the Catholic clergy, especially that of incapable men being appointed to the ministry, to prevent which, she had, in the year 1525, commanded that none should presume to exercise the office of preacher but such as were learned, prudent, and of good morals¹. Her death, which happened the 30th of November, 1530, was a grievous loss to the Netherlanders. Happy would it have been for them if the entire sovereignty of their country had been placed in the hands of this able and wise princess! but under the constant necessity of obeying the mandates of a superior power, she was not only forced to bear a part in wars eminently prejudicial to the states she governed, but likewise to load them with heavy burdens, in order to supply the expenses of a foreign court, and to support enterprises in which they had neither interest nor concern. This evil of her government, which was wholly beyond her control, she remedied as far as in her lay, by the vigilant care she exercised in the protection of commerce. Her talents for negotiation were displayed in the four treaties which she had the principal hand in framing: that of Cambray, in 1508; another made with France in 1522, establishing the neutrality of Burgundy; the truce for the security of the herring fishery, concluded shortly after the battle of Pavia; and the peace of Cambray, in 1529. To her great capacity for public affairs, she added a taste for literature and the arts, being a lyric poet of some celebrity, and author of several small works in prose^m. She

¹ Repert. der Plakaat. van Holl., bl. 14. Brant's Hist. der. Ref., boek ii., bl. 97.

^m Bib. Belg. in Marg.

gave in early youth an instance of the most extraordinary personal courage. During her voyage to Spain, for the purpose of being married to John, heir apparent of that kingdom, the vessel in which she sailed was overtaken by a violent tempest, and when on the point of shipwreck, and all hope of safety appeared to be lost, she retained, amidst the general terror, so much of her usual hilarity, as to make the following epitaph on her own fate:—

“Cy gist Margole, noble damoiselle
Deux fois mariée, et morte pucelle*,”

desiring that it might be rolled in wax, and fastened to her handⁿ.

She cannot, however be exonerated from the blame of encouraging the extreme venality which prevailed among her courtiers, although it is mainly attributable to the example and influence of William de Croye, stadtholder of the Netherlands, the guardian of Charles during his minority, and his prime minister and favourite for some years after: the rapacity of himself and his followers had excited formidable disturbances in Spain, and had established in the Netherlands the pernicious custom of bribing the ministers with large sums of money, in order to carry any desired measure at court.

* Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. v., cap. 5, p. 128.

* “Here gentle Margaret sleeps beneath the tide,
Who twice was wedded, yet a maiden died.”

It was the custom of the Netherland sailors, when in extreme danger of shipwreck, to tie something inside the hand, by which they might be known if picked up or washed ashore. Heut. ubi sup. They resemble the Scotch in their love of a “decent burial,” and it was probably in the desire to secure it that this custom originated.

CHAPTER V.

Charles meets the States at Brussels. Debates on the Supplies. Edicts for the regulation of the Government—and of the Court of Holland. Mary of Hungary appointed Governess. Proceedings of Christian II., King of Denmark, in Holland. Blockade of the Sound. Debates on the Supplies for a Fleet. Truce with Denmark and Lubek. Rise of the Anabaptists; their increase in Holland. Missionaries to Munster. Conduct of the Anabaptists there, and at Amsterdam. Rupture of the Truce with Denmark and Lubek. Prohibition on the exportation of Corn—abrogated. League between the King of Denmark and Charles of Guelderland. Invasion of Groningen. Groningen acknowledges the Emperor. Truce with Denmark. Death of Erasmus. War between the Emperor and France. Assembly of the States. Attempt to impose an Excise. Proposition for a general taxation of the Netherlands; its failure. Truce with France. Disturbances at Ghent. Journey of the Emperor thither from Spain. Emperor comes to Holland. Meeting of the States. Union of Holland and Utrecht. Prince of Orange Stadtholder. Increased severity against Heretics. Debates on the free exportation of Corn. Innovation on the Privileges of Holland. Expedition of the Emperor against Algiers. War with France. Alliance of France with the Duke of Cleves. Disputes between the Duke and the Emperor concerning Guelderland. Campaign of 1542. War Subsidies. Levy of the hundredth Penny. Income Tax. The Emperor invades Juliers. Submission of the Duke, and cession of Guelderland. Composition of the States of Guelderland. Emperor besieges Landrecy—forms Alliances with England and Denmark—conciliates the German Princes. Invasion of France by the Emperor and King of England. Siege of St. Dizier. Death of the Prince of Orange, and succession of Prince William. Separate Treaty between Charles and the King of France. Council of Trent. Edict against the Protestants in the Netherlands. Hostile Preparations against those of Germany. Subsidies demanded of the States—contributed with reluctance. Civil War in Germany. Discomfiture of the Protestant Princes. Death of Luther.

1530 ON receiving intelligence of the death of his aunt, the emperor hastened to the Netherlands, where his

presence gave the states of Holland an opportunity of asserting, face to face with their sovereign, those privileges, and of demanding a cessation of those grievances, which Margaret had always declared to be beyond her power to restore or redress; and we cannot but admire the courage with which this resolute little nation vindicated its rights before a sovereign of whom all Europe stood in awe. At an assembly of the states ¹⁵³¹ general of the Netherlands, summoned shortly after his arrival at Brussels, Charles demanded of the states of Holland a grant of 600,000 guilders to be paid in six years. As the states had contributed 380,000 guilders in loans and subsidies since the truce with France in 1528, they appeared by no means inclined to consent to so heavy a charge: the nobles, and Dordrecht only, were of opinion that it should be granted on condition that the emperor would redeem the annuities borrowed for him by the states; but the deputies of the other towns refused to listen to any proposals of laying on new burdens, until the restraints upon the exportation of corn, and other grievances, should be abolished, and the ancient mode of appointing the senates and councils of the towns restored^a. Deputies being sent from the states to the court of the emperor with these conditions, he desired that the petition should first be granted, promising to go afterwards into Holland and apply himself to the redress of their grievances*. The states urged, on the other hand, that in consequence of the burdens of which they com-

^a Aert van der Goes, bl. 154, 155.

* The emperor had already successfully pursued this method of obtaining supplies before the redress of grievances, with the cortez of Castile, after the suppression of the revolts in that country, in consequence of which the towns gradually lost the influence they possessed in the legislative government. Robertson's Charles V., book iii., p. 239.

1531 plained, and the decay of their trade, it would be impossible to pay the petition, even though they should give their consent to it; "their lives and property," they said, "were at the service of his majesty, but they could not engage themselves for more than they were able to fulfil." In reply to this, the emperor promised to excuse those who were unable to pay, and to take such good order for all things, that they should have ample reason to be satisfied, provided his subjects would only trust him, and not require him *to drive a bargain with them*^b. With this answer the deputies returned from Brussels to the assembly of the states at the Hague, who manifested no disposition to consent to the emperor's demand. Shortly after, the deputies were again summoned to Ghent, where they presented to the emperor a lamentable picture of the state of their country; somewhat highly coloured, nevertheless, to suit the purpose they had to answer. They declared that they had disbursed 1,700,000 guilders in the wars which they had been obliged to sustain against Utrecht and Friezland, since his departure into Spain: that commerce, without which Holland would not be able to defray her own expenses, and which had always been protected and encouraged by her ancient counts, was now entirely driven away from her shores by the new levies of tolls, and the exaction of permit money upon corn; that cloth weaving had declined; and that the storm, which had occurred in the November of the preceding year, had laid so large a quantity of land under water, and destroyed so much cattle, that many families, both of Holland and Zealand, were reduced from wealth to actual beggary. In conclusion, they consented to a sum of 40,000 guilders less than that demanded, expressing their hope at the

^b Aert van der Goes, bl. 157, 158.

same time, that their grievances would be redressed, 1531 otherwise, that the payment of the subsidy granted would be withheld^c.

The people were thus not wholly worsted in the contest between privilege and prerogative, as the principal causes of complaint were, in fact (owing, perhaps, to the concluding hint of the states), remedied shortly after. The permit money upon the exportation of corn was abolished, although, as we shall hereafter observe, the first favourable opportunity was laid hold of for again imposing it; and the breweries in the open country were forbidden; an evil which had long been complained of by the towns, because, being exempt from the payment of the excise levied in the latter, the country brewers were able to undersell those of the towns*. Satisfaction was likewise given in various other particulars.

Numerous abuses had crept into the municipal governments, and into the administration of justice, both in the towns and county: the coin had also suffered a great depreciation of actual value; and the want of uniformity between the currency of Holland and that of the neighbouring provinces, was highly prejudicial to their internal commerce. To remedy these defects, the emperor, having taken the advice of the states, published, together with a general edict to all the Netherland provinces, one to each in particular: by this, the former severe decrees against heretics were confirmed, with the addition, that any one found

^c Regist. van Aert van der Goes, bl. 159, 162.

* The towns had scarcely any other means of levying the funds necessary for the repair of their fortifications, and other municipal expenses, from which the open country was free, than by an excise, since the counts had taken into their own hands the assessment on houses, and the customs belonged of right to the sovereign.

1581 guilty of printing any book whatever, without having obtained permission, is condemned to be exposed on a scaffold, to be branded with a red hot cross, or have one eye put out, or one hand cut off, according to the pleasure of the judge; the emperor declaring that he would be "an enemy to his own father, mother, brother, or sister, if they were Lutheran*." The magistrates of the several towns were enjoined to reduce into writing the customs of each, in order to prevent the confusion arising from the different interpretation of prescriptive customs: all monopolies were prohibited; but this useful regulation was counterbalanced by the mischievous power given to the magistrates, of fixing a price upon provisions; a law highly beneficial in a trading community, was made with respect to fraudulent bankrupts, declaring them deprived, as notorious thieves, of the benefit of sanctuary: the most earnest care is manifested for the support and protection of the poor, sick, and aged, while beggary is strictly forbidden. Numerous precautions are taken against drunkenness, a vice transmitted to the Netherlanders from their German ancestors^d, and prevalent among them in all ages; among others, a man who in a state of intoxication killed another, was made liable to be punished both for murder and drunkenness. Various sumptuary laws were likewise enacted to prevent the wearing of satin, velvet, and damask, less impolitic, perhaps, than they would be esteemed in the present age, since, at a time when manufactures were carried

^d Tacit. de Mor., cap. xxiii.

* Charles had such a dread of the dissemination of heretical works, that he made it an article of treaty with Henry VIII. of England, that no books printed in England should be sold in his dominions, and none printed in Germany should be sold in England. Rym. Fœd., tom. xiv., p. 772.

on only to a limited extent, the general use of these 1531 articles by natives trenched upon a valuable branch of foreign commerce.

The regulation of the coin was provided for by a special ordinance of considerable length^c.

The limits of jurisdiction had never been distinctly ascertained between the supreme court of Holland and the several municipal courts: the former, it is true, possessed, except in special cases, the high jurisdiction, or the power of trying capital crimes, such as murder, sedition, sacrilege, and the like, while the low jurisdiction, or cognizance of minor offences, was left to the sheriff's court in the towns, and the bailiff's court in the open country. By degrees, however, the supreme court drew to itself many causes in the nature of appeals, which should have been tried without appeal in the local courts: and, in the year 1462, Charles, count of Charolois, had, in the name of his father, Philip I., given a new "instruction" to the court, by virtue of which it was empowered to take cognizance of all matters which concerned the count's dignity, privileges, rights, or domains, his officers, or the coinage, as well as the privileges bestowed on foreigners.

These powers were still further amplified by the instruction which the court now obtained from the emperor. It was enabled henceforward to decide, not only upon privileges granted to foreigners, but even upon those enjoyed by native subjects, as well as upon the validity of all customs, prescriptions, and charters; and also to take cognizance of all disputes between the towns and the open country. As the members of this court were appointed by the count, and removable at his pleasure, it is easy to perceive how much his autho-

^c Brandt's Hist. Ref., boek ii., bl. 106. Groot Plakaat., deel. ii., bl. 413.

1531 rity must increase by means of its extended jurisdiction, while the privileges of the subject, being made to rest on the decision of a body dependent upon the sovereign, were annihilated the instant it suited his purpose to dispute them.

The emperor then took leave of the states, having appointed his sister Mary, widow of Louis II., king of Hungary, governess of the Netherlands, together with a privy council to assist her in the administration, of which the Archbishop of Palermo was president^f.

At the time of her accession, the Hollanders were again threatened with hostilities from Denmark and the Hanse towns. Since the truce concluded between them in 1526, Christian II., the dethroned King of Denmark, had resided in East Friezland, where he now took a considerable body of forces into his pay, with the view of making a descent upon his former kingdom. Frederic, the reigning monarch, no sooner heard of his preparations, than concluding from the near connection of Christian with the emperor, whose sister he had married, that the subjects of the latter would favour his enterprise, he blockaded the Sound and Belt against all ships coming from Holland. In this he was assisted by the Lubekkers, always jealous of the Dutch trade in the Baltic, and who now threatened to seize all such vessels as attempted the passage. Christian having collected an army of 10,000 men, and finding himself destitute of vessels to convey them into Denmark, solicited the loan of a fleet from the emperor, who was still in the Netherlands. His request was refused, and a prohibition issued to the Netherlanders in general, against aiding the banished king either with ships, or in any other manner. By dint of solicitations,

^f Groot Plakaat., deel. iii., bl. 640, 706. Aert van der Goes Regist., bl. 165.

however, he afterwards obtained permission to hire 1531 some large vessels in Holland; and the towns of the Waterland were enjoined by the emperor to supply him with such ammunition and provisions as he stood in need of. Christian, finding them somewhat unwilling to obey this order, led his troops into North Holland, apparently for the purpose of embarkation, and permitting them to live there at free quarter, twelve ships were soon provided for his service from Hoorn, Medemblick, and other places; the emperor, moreover, hastened his departure by a gift of 50,000 guilders, as part of his sister's portion. In return, he promised the Hollanders a free trade throughout those kingdoms which he never regained. Being driven by a storm on the coast of Norway, he sustained a long siege in Apslo (now Christiana), and, obliged at length to surrender, he was detained in prison during the remainder of his days.

Although the Hollanders had been in a manner constrained to assist Christian, yet the reigning sovereign of Denmark professed himself none the less aggrieved, and directing his vengeance against them in particular, he, with the assistance of the Lubekkers, executed to the full the threat of seizing all their vessels which attempted to pass the Sound, or Belt. The Baltic trade being thus impeded, the price of corn in Holland rose from two pence halfpenny to above 1532 twelve pence a bushel, 400 merchantmen usually navigating that sea, lay idle in the ports, and 10,000 seamen being thrown out of employment, were reduced to a state of miserable poverty^a. These circumstances created in Holland an earnest wish for an accommoda-

^a Aert van der Goes, bl. 170, 171. Velius Hoorn, bl. 128—130. Hist. de Danne. de Mallet, tom. vi., p. 86.

^b Velius Hoorn, bl. 131, 132. Aert van der Goes, bl. 180.

1532 tion. Although, therefore, a considerable fleet, furnished by the maritime towns had already put to sea, the citizens of Amsterdam, the principal corn mart of Holland, sent ambassadors to Copenhagen, where, as Frederic was informed of the active preparations for war making by the Dutch, they found the less difficulty in effecting a peace; the news of which was received with extreme joy in Holland, and occasioned a fall in the price of rye to four pence halfpenny a bushel. It was, however, of no long duration. The fleet was scarcely unrigged, when the King of Denmark, incited by the Lubekkers, sent an embassy to the governess to demand payment of 300,000 guilders as an indemnification to him for the losses he had experienced in consequence of the assistance afforded by the Hollanders to Christian, which sum he declared, ought therefore to be levied on Holland alone, since he desired to live in peace with Brabant, Flanders, and Zealand, who had not taken part with his enemies against him. Although the governess replied to the ambassadors that the emperor would consider the cause of the Hollanders as his own, and support them with all the strength of the Netherlands, and even of Spain itself, the insidious distinction made by Frederic was not altogether without effect in retarding preparations for war. Brabant, Flanders, and Zealand being still permitted to carry on their commerce in the north, endeavoured to shift the burden entirely on Holland; and those towns, even of Holland itself, which were not immediately interested in the Baltic trade, were anxious to fix the expenses of equipping the necessary ships of war entirely on the maritime towns, impoverished already by the large sums they had expended in the like preparations a short time before.

1533 The debates on this subject were prolonged in

several assemblies of the states during the greater part of a year, until at length all the deputies, except those of Leyden, consented to a subsidy of 50,000 guilders, in addition to 30,000 contributed by the emperor, wherewith a fleet was equipped, and placed under the command of Gerard van Merckere, admiral of Holland. Directing its course late in the summer to the Sound, it kept that strait blockaded for some time against all vessels, except such as came from the Netherlands; the commander of the Lubek fleet, Mark Meyer, carefully avoiding an engagement. Meanwhile, Frederic I., king of Denmark, died, and his successor, Christian III., perceiving the great injury inflicted on his subjects by the disagreements with Holland, and that they were likely to lose their trade in corn with that country, which was now beginning to import largely from Bremen and Hamburgh, consented to a 1534 truce for thirty years; and the Lubekkers, unwilling to carry on the war alone, likewise made an accommodation with the Hollanders, permitting them to send as many trading vessels into the Baltic as they thought proper¹.

It appears that the penal edicts against the Protestants, however earnestly recommended by the emperor, had been but slackly executed, since at this time a new sect of Reformers began to excite alarm, as well from their increasing numbers, as from the violence of their language, and the dangerous nature of the tenets they professed. These were the Anabaptists, who differed from the Lutherans in maintaining the necessity of adult baptism; to this harmless, and not irrational opinion, they joined others, which rendered them objects of mistrust and suspicion to all constituted

¹ Aert van der Goes, 183—214. Hist. de Danne., tom. vi., p. 195—200. Velius Hoorn, p. 135.

1534 authorities. The founder of this sect was said to have been one Nicholas Stork, a Saxon, who about the year 1522, or earlier, began to teach, "That the world, both temporal and ecclesiastical, had hitherto been governed by evil men; but that better times were drawing near, when God should raise up a holy people in the room of those he had determined to destroy; that it is not lawful for Christians to go to law, to bear any office of magistracy, or to have any property; but that all things should be in common^k." Acting upon these principles, his disciple, Thomas Muncer, a priest of Saxony, had in the year 1526 headed a dangerous revolt of the peasants in Thuringia, who eagerly embraced his doctrines. After its suppression, many of the fugitives took refuge in Holland, where they rapidly gained proselytes, more especially among the lower ranks of people. The conduct of these zealots, both there and at Munster, during this and the following year, affords a specimen of religious frenzy, as extraordinary perhaps as ever appeared on the page of history; and I shall not hesitate to dwell on it at some length, because it presents human nature to our view, under a remarkable phasis, which it may not be unprofitable, though painful to contemplate. One of the most striking characteristics observable in the Dutch, is a deeply-seated religious enthusiasm, which, guided by reason and education has prompted them to do, and to suffer more for the cause of conscience than any other nation upon earth, but which reigning in the breasts of the rude and ignorant, has too often degenerated into blind bigotry and senseless fanaticism.

Among the converts to the new opinions, was one

^k Letter of the Bishop of Munster to Pope Paul III. Apud Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., p. 608. Sleidan, lib. iii., p. 52; lib. x., p. 190. Brandt's Hist. Ref., boek ii., bl. 100.

John Matthewson, a baker of Haarlem; a man of high 1534 courage, inordinate ambition, and a heated imagination, joined to no mean share of talent and eloquence. He gave himself out for Enoch; and having deserted his wife, somewhat stricken in years, eloped to Amsterdam with the young and beautiful daughter of a brewer at Haarlem, whom he had seduced. From this city he despatched his missionaries to various places, appointing two to each place, for the purpose of teaching the Gospel. Bartholomew Bookbinder, and Theodore Cooper, were sent to Friezland; while John Bokelson, taylor of Leyden, and Gerard Bookbinder* repaired to Munster.

The Reformation introduced into this city by one Bernard Rotman, had gained ground so rapidly, that the Lutheran service was performed in six of its churches, leaving the cathedral only to the Catholics. Soon after the arrival of the two missionaries from Amsterdam, Rotman became a member of the anabaptist persuasion, and from that time the number of these sectaries increased daily. They sent missionaries to the neighbouring towns and into Holland, inviting all their brethren to Munster, to which they gave the name of the New Sion. Multitudes obeyed their call; and among the rest, Matthewson of Haarlem, Bernard Knipperdolling, Jacob van Kampen, and John van Geelen. The concourse soon became so great, that the Anabaptists, perceiving themselves by far the stronger party, and headed by John Matthewson, raised a violent tumult in the city, running about the

* The generality of the Hollanders who were not noble, had as yet no surnames; some were distinguished by the name of the trade they followed, or sometimes by one given them on account of some quality of mind or body for which they were remarkable, or by that of their birth-place; while others added son to the christian name of their father, or one of their ancestors. The nobles took their names from their estates.

1534 streets with drawn swords, howling, and crying out, "Depart, ye ungodly, or repent and be baptized, for the scourge of God's wrath is at hand." Terrified at the uproar, nearly the whole of the inhabitants who did not belong to their sect fled, and left the town at the mercy of these reckless fanatics. Immediately on their departure, Matthewson gave orders that the principal houses and the churches should be pillaged, and all the books burnt excepting the Bible. The wealth collected by the plunder he commanded to be brought into one common purse, and equally distributed by deacons appointed for that purpose¹. In the midst of his frenzy, however, he retained no small share of prudence in worldly matters; he appointed a regular government, consisting of two burgomasters and twelve councillors, strengthened the fortifications, obliged all people of the male sex to do garrison duty, and neglected no preparations for the siege with which he was threatened. It was, ere long, undertaken by the bishop, Francis, count of Waldek, who obtained the assistance of some of the German princes, the Duke of Guelderland, and the towns of Deventer, Kampen, and Zwol. The bishop's troops made a violent assault upon the city, which was repulsed with great loss. The next day, Matthewson, elated with his success, sallied out at the head of only thirty men, and attacked the camp of the besiegers. He was soon driven back, and himself with all his followers slain. His death excited the greatest consternation at Munster, the people having imagined that he was under the peculiar protection of God; but the government was instantly assumed by John Bokelson^m. This man was a tailor,

¹ Hortens. de Tumult. Anabaptist., p. 15, 17. Sleidan, lib. x., p. 192, 194. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 10.

^m Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. x., cap. 11.

of Leyden, who, endowed with some quickness of 1534 intellect and powers of rhetoric, had been accustomed to perform plays with the company of actors at Leyden, when the part of king or prince was generally allotted to him. His fanaticism was by no means so tempered with reason as that of Matthewson. One of his first exploits was to strip himself entirely naked and march through the streets, exclaiming, that "the king was come to Zion." After this, he sat in his house for three days without uttering a word, writing that, "the spirit had sealed up his lips." At last, he suddenly declared that the use of speech was restored to him, and that he was commanded from above to set up twelve judges in Israel. This he accordingly did, giving the office of executioner to Knipperdolling, who put to death all such as offered the slightest opposition to his decrees, or expressed a desire to return to the government of the bishop.

The twelve judges, after they had been a few weeks in authority, were again deposed, and John Duizendschoen, a goldsmith of Warendorp, affirmed that he had a divine mission to proclaim John Bokelson king, not only of the New Zion, but of the whole earth. The people received the intelligence with loud acclamations. The new king appointed ministers and councillors, chose a guard of twelve to be constantly near his person, and assumed a majestic dignity of demeanour, befitting that high station which he had so often filled in the mimic life of the stage. He was clothed in a tunic of purple velvet, with a collar of gold around his neck: on his head he wore a diadem, or golden crown, made in imitation of that of the ancient German sovereigns. When he rode, his feet were adorned with golden spurs: and at the head of his train marched two of his attendants, the one

1534 bearing the Old Testament, the other a drawn sword. Whoever neglected to kneel as he passed was immediately put to death^a.

This assumption of absolute power was soon followed by the most unbridled licentiousness. Besides the widow of John Matthewson, a lovely woman, whom he married while yet pregnant by her former husband, and who alone bore the title of Queen, he had fourteen or fifteen other wives of inferior rank. One of them he publicly beheaded with his own hand, for having ventured to express a doubt of his divine mission^o. His subjects were not slow in following his example of profligacy: every man took as many wives as he thought fit: nuns were dragged from their cloisters, and no female was permitted to remain unmarried after the age of fourteen.

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Munster finding his forces insufficient to carry the city by assault, had turned the siege into a blockade; and as he kept all the approaches strictly guarded, provisions began to fail within the walls. The besieged long cherished the hope of relief from without; but such of them as ventured to leave the town for the purpose of summoning their brethren from Holland and elsewhere to their assistance, were taken, and put to death. Their
1535 distress, therefore, continued to augment, and the famine at length arrived at such a height, that the miserable creatures, after having been forced to feed on the flesh of horses, dogs, and rats, were reduced to devour leather as a means of sustaining life; and, as a climax of horrors, it is even said that the bodies of

^a Hortensius de Tumul., p. 32—44. Sleidan, lib. x., p. 194—196. Anton. Corvinus, de miserabili Monast. obs. (orig. edit. unpagged).

^o A. Corv. de mis. ob. Mon. Sleidan, lib. x., p. 199. L. Hortensius, de Tum. Anabapt., p. 304—307.

some children were found half eaten after the capture 1535 of the town. In the midst of this wretchedness dances were held and plays represented; none made any mention of a surrender, the leaders of the Anabaptists continually assuring the people that God would save the town by the interposition of his miraculous power^p. Their prophecy was not destined to be fulfilled. John Langenstrat, a deserter to the bishop's camp, having promised to deliver Munster into his hands, was entrusted with the command of a band of 400 men. With these he advanced in the night of the 24th June to one of the gates, and telling the sentinel that he brought a convoy of provisions, was admitted into the town. John Bokelson, too late aware of the danger, placed himself at the head of such of the inhabitants as had hastily snatched up their arms, and succeeded in closing the gates against 500 more Germans, who followed the troop of Langenstrat; a fierce battle then began with those already in the city, which lasted for above an hour, when the Germans would have been entirely defeated, had not their companions outside the town broken down the gates and hastened to their assistance. Still the Anabaptists defended themselves with undaunted courage, even the women and children taking a part in the fight, until overcome at length by the superior strength and discipline of their foes, they threw down their arms. John Bokelson, their king, and Bernard Knipperdolling were taken prisoners, and for eight days the town became a scene of rapine and carnage^q. Bokelson and Knipperdolling were confined in separate cells for the space of six months, when they were brought to trial and condemned to death. The former, during his imprisonment, modified some of his

^p A. Corv. de mis. Monast. obs.

^q Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 2.

1535 doctrines, particularly that permitting a plurality of wives. On hearing of his condemnation, he gave signs of repentance, consenting to listen to the exhortations of the bishop's chaplain, and exclaiming that, "if he had ten lives to lose he should have deserved death ten times." Soon after, however, he declared that, though he had sinned against the government, he had not sinned against God. Knipperdolling remained immoveable in his opinions. They suffered, with unshaken firmness, a death of lingering and cruel torture; the flesh being torn from their bodies with red hot pincers^r.

The actions of the Anabaptists at Amsterdam rivalled in frantic absurdity those committed at Munster. Having met together to the number of twelve, seven men and five women, at the house of one John Sybertson, a cloth factor, who was absent in the pursuit of his trade, they remained together until about three hours after midnight, when one of them called Dirk Snyder, (or the tailor,) who gave himself out for a prophet, fell forward with his face to the earth, as if in prayer. When he arose, he said, that he had visited hell and heaven, and seen God in his glory. Shortly after, the prophet took his helmet and armour, his side arms, and even his clothes, and threw them all on the fire, saying, that all which came out of the earth must be sacrificed to God, and destroyed by fire. He then commanded the whole of the company present to follow his example. They obeyed him without hesitation, every one throwing their garments on the fire, without reserving a morsel to cover them. The woman of the house, who, wakened by the smell of the burning clothes, came down to ascertain the cause, was forced, in like manner, to strip herself. Dirk then,

^r A. Corr. de mis. Monas. obsidione.

commanding the rest to follow and cry after him, 1535 rushed out of the house accompanied by the whole troop; they ran like maniacs up and down the streets, uttering horrible howlings, and cries of "Woe! woe! woe! the vengeance of God! the vengeance of God! the vengeance of God!" The schuttery having assembled in arms at the tumult, seized all except one woman, and brought them to the guildhall. Here, when they were desired to put on clothes, they stoutly refused, asserting that, "they being the naked truth and God's image, could never be put to shame." It was the middle of the month of February, and the cold was intense. The door of the house in which they had left the burning clothes was found to be so firmly fastened, that it was necessary to blow it to pieces; and from this circumstance the magistrates justly conceived that a plot existed to destroy the city. Their suspicions were further confirmed by the arrival of more than 1000 Anabaptists in Amsterdam shortly after the execution of the prisoners, which took place within a few days of their arrest*.

In the same month, also, John van Geelen, a leader of the sect, with 300 followers, seized the old monastery near Bolsward, in Friezland, drove away the monks, and destroyed the images and ornaments of the church. It was soon retaken by the stadtholder of Friezland, George Schenck, when van Geelen escaped in safety, and, repairing to Brussels, obtained letters of pardon from the governess, by pretending to repent of his errors, and by promising to secure Munster, which had not then surrendered, for the emperor. Thence he went to Amsterdam, where he associated openly with the most respected of the burghers, but held constant and secret communication with the Anabaptists,

* Hortens. de Tum. Anabap., p. 53, 56.

1535 and gained over so large a number to the same party, that he resolved upon a nocturnal attempt to make himself master of the city. The conspirators agreed that the ringing of the guildhall bell should be the signal for the onset. The day appointed for the enterprise was the annual festival of the "Brothers of the Cross," which was usually attended by the members of the government and the most considerable of the burghers. The burgomasters, however, obtained information of the plot late in the evening, through one Peter Honey, who, to confirm his intelligence, showed them three pieces of small artillery, double loaded, and placed in the theatre, in such a position as to discharge their contents directly into the windows of the guildhall, which stood opposite^t. While the magistrates, filled with doubt and terror, were hesitating what course to pursue, the Anabaptists marched about forty strong to the guildhall, and slew, or took prisoners, the burgher guards who were keeping watch there; the burgomasters only escaped by a hasty flight. Fortunately, a drunken schout's officer, who was lying at the time among the stools and benches, at the first sound of the tumult, concealed, without knowing why he did so, the rope of the guildhall bell, and thus preventing the signal which the rioters had agreed on, in all probability, saved this illustrious city from utter destruction. The Anabaptists soon became masters of the dam, as well as the guildhall. The burgomasters having put the schuttery under arms, one of them, Johnson Reekalf, resolving not to attack the rioters before the morning, since it was impossible, in the extreme darkness, to distinguish friends from enemies, commanded that the approaches to the dam should be barricaded with sails, hop-sacks, and such other

^t Lambert. Horten., p. 57—62. Boxborn in Amst., p. 256, 257.

materials as were at hand, behind which, sheltered 1535 from the fire of the Anabaptists, they might await the approach of day. But another of the burgomasters, Peter Kolyn, being suspected, from the mildness of his treatment of the Anabaptists, of an inclination towards their doctrines, and eager to clear himself of the reproach, hastily advanced to the attack, at the head of his own company only. He was so warmly received by the rioters, that the burgher troops were all driven back or killed, and himself cruelly slaughtered*. Meanwhile, the burgomaster, Reekalf, collected a company of town soldiers*, promising them a month's pay, if, under the conduct of the burgomasters, they should succeed in expelling the Anabaptists from the guildhall and the dam. The burghers remained quite still during the remainder of the night; the Anabaptists spent it in singing psalms. At break of day, Henry Goedbeleid, whom John van Geelen had associated with himself as leader of the enterprise, finding that their numbers did not increase, began to lose courage, and in a short time the dam was cleared of the rioters, who retreated into the guildhall, some few being slain. The burgher guards having taken possession of the theatre opposite, fired incessantly, from the cannon which the rioters themselves had placed there, into the windows of the guildhall; Reekalf, also, on the recovery of the dam by the burghers, caused two coulevrines and a piece of heavy artillery to be brought thither, with which they soon levelled the door of the guildhall to the ground. The burgher

* Boxhorn in Amst., p. 258. Lambert. Horten., p. 62—64.

* Inhabitants who did military service in the town upon any emergency, and received regular pay as soldiers: they were called "Waard-gelders."

1535 troops then rushed in: the Anabaptists fought with the courage of despair; but overpowered by numbers, the greater part, among whom was Goedbeleid himself, were killed, and the few remaining made prisoners. Twenty of the burghers fell in the encounter. John van Geelen having retreated to the tower of the guildhall, placed himself in front of the fire from the theatre; he was soon struck, and thrown, while yet alive, into the street. The prisoners were afterwards condemned to a painful death*: 116 men, and 25 women, of the Anabaptists, perished in the affray, and by the hand of justice†.

Thus the tumult was happily appeased; but there appears little doubt, that if all those who waited in vain for the ringing of the town bell had joined in the attack, the issue must have been fatal to the city; 300 more Anabaptists, who had been invited by John van Geelen to Amsterdam, were on their way thither, when they heard of the failure of their comrades, and two ships filled with them appeared shortly after before the bar, which, on the tidings of the events in the town, sailed to England. The conduct of these sectarians drew upon them the most rigorous edicts; all their prophets, apostles, and bishops, were condemned to the flames, and every one guilty of being rebaptized to be put to the sword if men, and to be buried alive if women; and the magistrates were forbidden to show them the least mercy, "because of their evil designs." From that time, severe persecution

† Boxhorn in Amst., p. 259, 260. Aantek. op Vat. Hist., deel v., bl. 33. Lambert. Horten., p. 64—67.

* The barbarities exercised on them are revolting to human nature: their hearts were cut out, while alive, and thrown into their faces; their bodies quartered, and hung upon the town gates, and their heads placed on stakes.—Lambert. Hort., p. 67.

was exercised, not only against the seditious among 1535 the Anabaptists, but likewise against that peaceable and well-disposed seet of them who, following the doctrines of Menno Simonson, from whom they were afterwards called Mennonites, held the use of fleshly weapons unlawful*. These unhappy disorders did incalculable injury to the cause of the Reformation, and contributed, in a great degree, to retard its progress; they were not only pointed to by the Catholics as the inevitable consequence of wantonly forsaking that faith which had stood the test of so many ages, but, by justifying measures of severity against the Anabaptists, exasperated that spirit of hatred and bitterness of persecution, which the different sects of Reformers manifested towards each other, in no less a degree than the Catholics towards the Reformers. This disposition, however, was principally conspicuous in Germany and Switzerland; Holland was, for the most part, exempt from it, and it was with slowness and reluctance that the governments of the towns executed, even to the extent they did, the rigorous decrees of their sovereign.

The truce for thirty years, which had been concluded with Lubek and Denmark, lasted little more than one. The Lubekkers, dissatisfied with Christian III., on account of the treaty he had made with Holland, of which they complained as injurious to their trade, had formed an alliance with Christopher, count of Oldenburg, for the purpose of restoring the captive king, Christian II., to the throne; and, in conjunction with him, they possessed themselves of Copenhagen, which was no sooner accomplished, than

* Lambertus Horten., p. 68. Velius Hoorn., p. 136. Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek ii., bl. 123, 124.

they closed the Sound against all Holland vessels*. The hindrance of the Baltic trade created, as usual, a scarcity of corn in Holland, of which the governess took advantage to renew the prohibition on its exportation. As the Hollanders were convinced that this was done for no other purpose than that the government might reap the profits of the sale of permits, they unanimously resolved not to publish the decree, and vehemently insisted on its immediate revocation; the deputies of the towns representing, that the prohibition to export, and the exaction of permit-money, by checking the purchase of foreign corn in the country, prevented its being brought thither, and thus increased the scarcity it was pretended to remedy; and that thirty ships from Bremen, laden with grain, had, in consequence of the bare mention of this measure, passed by Holland and gone with their cargoes to England. By dint of presents to the courtiers, the towns at length obtained a majority in the privy council, and it was decreed, that 1536 corn should be freely exported as of old, without any demand of permit-money†.

The private views and interests of the emperor and his family widened still further the breach between Holland and Denmark and Lubek. Isabella, wife of the dethroned monarch and sister of Charles V., had died, leaving two daughters, of whom the eldest, Dorothea, in default of issue male, claimed the inheritance of her father. She had been married by the emperor to Frederic, count palatine of the Rhine, and this prince now sought to make the commotions raised by the Count of Oldenburg the means of advancing the pretensions of his wife to the Danish throne. As a first step, he determined upon endeavouring to raise

* Hist. de Danne., tom. vi., p. 203. Velius Hoorn., bl. 137.

† Aert van der Goes, bl. 234—240.

the siege of Copenhagen, then invested by the king's 1536 troops, and for this purpose collected a numerous force, with the assistance of the emperor. As it was necessary to provide vessels for the transport of the soldiers into Denmark, the governess demanded them in the emperor's name from the states of Holland. The stadtholder laboured to excite the fears of the deputies by the tidings, that the Lubekkers, suspecting the designs of Frederic, had entered into negotiations for an accommodation with the reigning king, urging the great probability there was that he might be induced, in his present circumstances, to make such a treaty with Lubek as would prove a perpetual hindrance to the Dutch navigation in the Baltic; and that the best means of averting this danger would be, that the emperor should make himself master of the Sound, and if possible put the count palatine in possession of the throne of Denmark. He concluded with a requisition for twenty-five men of war, fifteen hoys, double armed and double manned. But the states receiving intelligence that the King of Sweden, Gustavus I., had occupied the Sound with forty ships, were fearful that Holland might be involved alone in a war with the combined powers of the north, and that the whole of their trade would in consequence be engrossed by Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant. They therefore urged that, under present circumstances, the governess should apply to a general assembly of the states of the Netherlands, when Holland would be found willing to consent to a reasonable sum as their share in the support of the war, provided a like proportion were paid by the other states, but not otherwise. They likewise objected, that in case the ships required of them should be detained, as it was probable, in the Baltic, they

1636 would incur a loss of 400,000 guilders. The governess, finding it impossible to prevail with the states of Holland, took upon herself the equipment of the fleet².

In order to prevent the execution of any plan formed in favour of Frederic, by raising up against the Netherlanders an enemy who should give them sufficient employment on their own frontiers, Christian III. formed a league with the Duke of Guelderland, by which the latter was bound to assist the king with 3000 men, and eight ships of war. Charles, who entered into this alliance chiefly to obtain a pretext for renewing hostilities against the emperor, lost no time in levying the stipulated number of troops, but instead of waiting to co-operate with the Danish army, he sent them at once into Groningen, under the command of Meinard van Ham, a general nominally in the service of the King of Denmark. Upon his arrival there, Meinard entrenched himself strongly in Appingadam, whence he wrote to the citizens of Amsterdam, that in case the intended preparations at sea were proceeded with, he would lay waste the city, and surrounding country, with fire and sword. The Amsterdammers were the more alarmed at this threat, because the town of Delft, having been shortly before almost destroyed by a conflagration, was not in a condition to offer any resistance to the passage of the Guelderlanders. They therefore summoned an assembly of the states at the Hague, for the purpose of soliciting the governess to send some troops to their succour. She, however, anticipated their desire, by commanding George Schenck, stadtholder of Friezland, a brave and

² Hist. de Danne., tom. vi., p. 289, 292. Aert van der Goes, bl. 242—249.

skilful captain, to dislodge Meinard van Ham from 1536 Appingadam, and to employ in this service the forces destined for the Danish expedition^a.

The people of Groningen, between whom and the Duke of Guelderland many causes of dissatisfaction had for some time existed, being now still further alienated from him by a proposal which he made to erect a citadel within the town, and to surround Appingadam with walls, sent deputies to the governess, offering to acknowledge the emperor as sovereign, in the quality of Duke of Brabant and Count of Holland, provided she would send them immediately a sufficient number of troops to protect them from the Guelderlanders. The governess did not hesitate long to accept their proposal, but sent instructions without delay to George Schenck, to receive the homage of Groningen in the emperor's name. The siege of Appingadam lasted two months, when it capitulated, the general, Meinard van Ham, remaining a prisoner of war. Coevoerden, some time after, likewise surrendered to Schenck, and before the end of the year, all the fortified places having acknowledged the emperor, he was confirmed in the full possession of Groningen and Drent^b. The diversion which the King of Denmark thus caused, though it had proved most unfortunate to the Duke of Guelderland, entirely answered the purpose for which he himself designed it; since, while the Netherland fleet lay waiting for the soldiers employed at the siege of Appingadam, he obliged Copenhagen to surrender, and this event caused the count palatine to desist from his intention of invading Denmark.

^a Hist. de Danne, tom. vi., p. 310. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. i., cap. 5, p. 256. Aert van der Goes, bl. 253.

^b Pontanus, Hist. Gelr., lib. xi., p. 781. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 6.

1536 Although, in compliance with the solicitations of the states of Holland, the equipment of the fleet had been carried on in Zealand, yet it was a source of great injury and vexation to the former province, as it was stripped of the whole of its artillery to supply the men-of-war; and in order to procure seamen, a command was issued for arresting not only the merchant ships going to the north for timber and cod fish, but those also which traded to England, Spain, and Portugal. An embargo likewise was laid in Amsterdam on some vessels coming from the Baltic, which created a fear lest reprisals should be exercised by the nations to which they belonged^c.

At length, by the vigorous efforts of the Hollanders, a truce for three years was concluded with the King of Denmark in the next spring, in spite of the repeated attempts to break off the negotiations made by the ambassadors of the count palatine at the Netherland court^d.

In this year died the renowned Gerard Gerardson, so well known to posterity under the name of Desiderius Erasmus, in the seventy-first year of his age. His statue still remains at Rotterdam, as a memorial of the just esteem which his fellow citizens cherished of his virtues and attainments.

The truce with Denmark failed in securing to Holland that peace which she so earnestly desired, since she was destined to no inconsiderable share in the evil consequences that resulted from the bitter personal hatred existing between the emperor and Francis I. of France, and which brought so many calamities on the subjects of both sovereigns. Hardly was the treaty of Cambray concluded, when Francis began to devise methods of evading its provisions. Even at the time

^c Hist. de Danne., tom. vi., p. 318. Aert van der Goes, bl. 163.

^d Hist. de Danne., tom. vi., p. 364. Velius Hoorn, bl. 139.

of its ratification he had, as with the treaty of Madrid, made a secret and solemn protest against it^c; and from that moment was unceasingly employed in forming alliances prejudicial to Charles. In order to seduce the pope from his interests, he carried his complaisance 1533 so far as to give his second son, Henry, duke of Orleans, in marriage to Catherine, daughter of Lorenzo di Medici, cousin of Clement VII.; thus allying the royal house of France with the family of a simple Florentine merchant. Henry VIII. of England was sufficiently inclined to share in his feelings of hostility against the emperor, on account of the influence which the latter had used with the pope, first to retard, and then to prevent entirely, the divorce of his aunt, Catherine of Arragon, which Henry was earnestly bent on accomplishing. Francis found, therefore, but little 1530 difficulty in inducing him to close the wool staple at Calais, for the purpose of injuring the trade of the Netherlands*, though he was too much occupied with his domestic affairs to render it probable that he would afford any active assistance in case of a war^f. This, however, Francis was for some time in no condition to undertake; and when the ruin and disasters of the former campaigns had been in some measure repaired by a few years of peace, he found his political relations considerably changed. Clement VII., whose alliance France had, as it afterwards proved, bought so

^c Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 369.

^f Rym. Fœd., tom. xiv., p. 435.

* Of how great detriment this measure was to the manufactures of the Netherlands may be estimated from the fact, that the question of the substitution of Spanish wools for English, being debated in the states, it was decided that it was impossible for the Netherlanders to do without English wool, notwithstanding the superior protection the emperor might be enabled to afford to the importation of those from Spain. Aert van der Goes, op jaar 1534, bl. 221.

1530 dear, dying soon after, was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, under the name of Paul III., an implacable enemy of the Medici, and from that cause hostile to the interests of France.

The league of Smalkalde, formed in 1530 by the Protestants of Germany for their mutual defence, appeared calculated to strike a fatal blow at the power and authority of the emperor, and Francis was not remiss in his endeavours to turn so important a weapon to his own advantage. In order to gain their friendship, he did not hesitate to affect some conformity with their religious opinions, and even invited Melancthon, their favourite apostle, to Paris^s. But the success of his arts was defeated by the severities he thought it necessary to employ against the Reformers in his own kingdom, after which proof of his insincerity, all the representations and blandishments of his ambassador Du Bellay, were unavailing to persuade the German Protestant princes to listen to any further overtures of alliance on his part^h.

Thus unsupported by any of the powers of Europe, Francis commenced the war against the emperor by sending an army into the states of Charles, duke of Savoy; between whom and the emperor, a close alliance was maintained through the influence of his wife, Beatrice of Portugal, sister of the empress. Francis also laid claim to a portion of Savoy, in right of his mother Louise, daughter of Philibert II. by a first marriage. The French troops in a few weeks gained possession of the greater part of Savoy and Piedmont. At the time of the invasion of Savoy, the emperor was in Italy, returning covered with glory

^s Du Bellay, lib. iv., p. 167. Sleidan, lib. ix., p. 186, 187.

^h Du Bellay, lib. vi., p. 307, et seq.

from his celebrated expedition against Tunis*. The want of faith on the part of Francis, and his conduct to his ally, transported Charles to an excess of passion, wholly unusual to his steady and prudent temper; he indulged, in the presence of the assembled pope, cardinals, and ambassadors at Rome, in vehement invectives against the ambition and insincerity of his rival; enumerated all the injuries he had sustained from him since his accession to the crown; and concluded by challenging him to single combat¹. Impelled by his anger, and rejecting the advice of his wisest counsellors, 1536 he determined upon attacking the King of France in his own dominions, and at the head of an army of 40,000 infantry, and 10,000 horse, he invaded Provence, and laid siege to Marseilles. The able plan of defence pursued by the French general, Montmorency, in garrisoning only the strong towns, and laying waste the open country, forced the imperialists to retreat at the end of two months, worn out with hunger, fatigue, and sickness. The emperor's arms met with little better success on the side of Picardy, where the Count of Nassau, having laid siege to Peronne with 80,000 men, was obliged shortly after to raise it².

The mutual interests of France and the Netherlands, prompted the belligerents to an agreement in the midst of these hostilities, that the herring fishery of both nations should remain unmolested. The security of this branch of their trade was a seasonable relief to the Hollanders under the heavy imposts they were obliged to sustain. The governess having assembled the states-general of all the Netherlands at Brussels, demanded of

¹ Du Bellay, liv. v., p. 240—267. ² Idem, liv. viii., p. 415—422.

* The people considered it as an evil omen, that on the occasion of the emperor's entry into Rome, the ancient Temple of Peace was thrown down among other buildings to widen the road.—Du Bellay, liv. v., p. 256.

them a sum of money sufficient for the support of the 1537 troops returned from Peronne, and proposed to levy for this purpose an excise on wine, beer, silks, velvets, woollen, and linen cloths. The proposition was received with much the same kind of feeling as the noted excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, in later times, in our own country. The states of Holland summoned at the Hague to consider of this measure, regarded it as an unnecessary and vexatious innovation. The excise had indeed been levied by the governments of the towns, to pay the charges of those towns, or the county taxes when the assessments on houses and lands did not suffice*, but as a general tax, and levied by the immediate authority of the count, it was as yet unheard of. The states of Flanders, also, supported those of Holland, the deputies declaring that they could not venture to ask their constituents for power to consent to the novelty of excises, nor had they the slightest hope of ever obtaining it. The deputies of no one of the other states appeared at all more inclined to give in their consent, and the governess at length found the opposition so powerful, that she was forced to yield, and the scheme of excise was laid aside for several years, when the enormous subsidies granted by the states rendered its adoption inevitable.

Another measure which she brought forward shortly after, met with the like ill-success. The sum of 1,200,000 guilders was judged requisite for the payment of the troops intended for the service of the next campaign, and instead of levying it by the usual mode of petitions to the separate states, the governess demanded the whole sum from the states-general of the Netherlands, proposing at the same time, that they should declare the provinces one undivided nation, and

* Vide part ii., chap. 2.

as such, levy a general impost of a Carolus guilder 1537 (twenty-two pence halfpenny) upon every hearth*. This expedient was, however, unanimously rejected by the deputies from Holland, who declared, that so far from being paid, it would inevitably cause a rebellion throughout the county, since, being more populous, and having therefore a greater number of dwellings in proportion to the extent of her soil than any of the other states, she would have been forced to bear more than a due proportion of the burden. The proposition of the duchess was therefore rejected; but the states of Holland granted her an ordinary petition of 120,000 guilders annually for six years, and an extraordinary one of 120,000 guilders¹.

While the debates on the supplies were yet pending, Francis taking advantage of the delay they occasioned in the preparations for the campaign, and aware of the disordered condition to which the Netherland army was reduced for want of pay, took possession of Hedin early in the spring. No sooner, however, were 1538 the Netherland troops in readiness, than Egmond, count of Buuren, marched at their head to St. Pol, which he took by storm, made himself master of Montreuil, and commenced the siege of Terouanne. During its continuance, the governess and Queen of France concluded a truce for three months between France and the Netherlands. This was followed in 1539 the next year by a general truce between the emperor and King of France for the space of ten years; negotiated under the mediation of Pope Paul III., who had manifested an extreme eagerness in bringing about a pacification between the two monarchs, in order that,

¹ Aert van der Goes, bl. 276, 277. *Meteren*, boek i., fol. 12.

* Or "Hole from whence smoke issues."—Aert van der Goes, bl. 276.

1539 their mutual animosities being laid aside, they might unite their forces, as well for the purpose of extirpating heresy, as of arresting the progress of the Turks in Christendom^m. In compliance with his solicitations, Charles, after the ratification of the truce, made preparations for war against the Sultan of Turkey, Solymán, surnamed the Magnificent. In order to provide himself with a fleet, he despatched to Holland and Zealand, John van Hennin, lord of Bossn, who obtained from the states that an embargo might be laid upon vessels of all kinds, and a prohibition issued to seamen against engaging in any other service than that of the emperor. By these means, highly prejudicial to the commerce of the Dutch, a fleet of forty-four ships was collected in Zealand, and early in the next spring fifty-six more set sail from Holland. But the latter had hardly reached the Downs, when they were recalled, the emperor finding it necessary to postpone his expedition, as well on account of some movements among the Protestants of Germany, as of a revolt which had broken out in Ghent. A few of the leading circumstances of the latter event, though not in immediate connection with Holland, will not be irrelevant to the subject, from its effects on the temper and disposition of the sovereign towards the towns of the Netherlands, and their franchises in generalⁿ.

Owing, perhaps, to Flanders having been for so many centuries a fief of France, the Flemings partook much more of the national character of the French than of the Germans, whom the inhabitants of the other Netherland states, except Hainault and Artois for the most part strongly resembled; and although, in

^m Du Bellay, liv. viii., p. 439—453. Sleidan, lib. xi., p. 282. *Recueil des Traités*, tom. ii., p. 399, 407.

ⁿ *Hout. Ber. Aust.*, lib. xi., cap. 13. Velius Hoorn, bl. 141.

common with all Netherlanders, deeply attached to 1539
their ancient customs and privileges, they were prone
to assert them rather with inconsiderate passion and
inconstant vehemence, than with the passive courage
and steadiness of purpose evinced by the Dutch on
the like occasions.

The origin of the present dispute between the
Ghenters and the court was the subsidy of 1,200,000
guilders, demanded by the governess in 1536, which,
as we have seen, it was found impossible to levy by a
general tax throughout the provinces. It was there-
fore divided in proportional shares to each; that of
Flanders being fixed at 400,000 guilders, or one-third
of the whole. The states of this province were com-
posed of deputies from the four members, as they were
called, ("Leden,") of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the
Vryenland, of whom the three latter gave their con-
sent, after some difficulty, to the payment of this sum,
and likewise that it should be levied by means of a tax
of one guilder on each hearth. The citizens of Ghent,
on the contrary, persisted in refusing the demand,
offering instead, to serve the emperor as of old time,
with their own troops assembled under the great
standard of the town. In order to force them to com-
pliance, the governess seized all the Ghenters found in
Brussels, Antwerp, and elsewhere, and threw them into
prison^o. This measure failed of the desired effect.
The inhabitants of Ghent sent deputies to Margaret to
solicit the release of their fellow-citizens, and to repre-
sent to her that, according to the charters of Count
Guy in 1296, of Count Louis de Nevers in 1334, and
of Mary in 1478, they could not be bound to the pay-
ment of any subsidy, by the decision of a majority only
of the states of Flanders. They likewise presented an

• Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 11.

1539 appeal to the emperor in Spain, but received for answer, that they should obey the commands of the governess as if he were present, and that if they persisted in refusing the payment of 400,000 guilders, means would be taken to enforce it. The other cities of Flanders showed themselves unwilling to espouse the cause of the Ghenters, who, finding they had no hope of support from them, or of redress from the emperor, took up arms, possessed themselves of the forts in the vicinity of Ghent, and despatched an embassy to Paris to offer the sovereignty of their city to the king, with a promise to assist him in recovering Flanders and Artois, ancient fiefs of France. The hope that the emperor would one day grant the investiture of the Milanese to his second son the Duke of Orleans, induced Francis to decline the tempting offer, and the Ghenters were left to sustain alone the consequences of their rebellious acts^P.

As there appeared no other mode of pacifying the town than by the presence of the sovereign himself, Charles determined upon repairing thither in person; but the difficulty of performing the voyage in safety appeared almost insurmountable. If he attempted the passage by sea, it was not improbable that a storm, at this season of the year, might drive him into one of the ports of England where, as the feelings of the king were anything rather than friendly towards him, he might be detained prisoner. The route through Italy and the states of the Protestant princes of Germany was still more perilous, and Charles at length decided upon the apparently desperate measure of passing through the dominions of his rival, the King of France. Happily for him the same vanity which guided all the

^P Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 11. Thuanus, lib. i., p. 28. De Bellay, liv. viii., p. 477.

actions of Francis, and which induced him to violate the ties of good faith after the inglorious treaties of Madrid and Cambray, prompted him now honourably to preserve them, and to display to even an impolitic excess, the character of a generous and friendly host. He not only granted the emperor a free passage through his states, and received him with the honours 1540 due to a sovereign, but forbore, with an overstrained delicacy, to press him upon the subject of the investiture of Milan^a. Having taken leave of the French king, who accompanied him as far as St. Quentin, Charles met the states-general at Brussels in February, whence he advanced to Ghent at the head of two regiments of German foot, brought into the Netherlands by his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and 1500 horse, which the governess had levied in the provinces. It was soon evident how little of mercy or forbearance the Ghenters had to expect at his hands*. In answer to the petition they presented to him, setting forth their claims and grievances, he declared, that the charters they relied upon in support of their pretended privilege of paying no taxes, except such as they had given their consent to, either applied to those levied upon the city of Ghent in particular†, or to such as were levied by nobles without consent of the

^a Du Bellay, liv. viii., p. 477—479. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 12.

* He did not, however, exercise against them all the severity to which he was advised. Having asked the Duke of Alva, (the same who afterwards rendered his name so notorious in the Netherlands,) what punishment he thought they deserved, he answered, that the rebellious city should be entirely destroyed. Charles commanded him to go up into a tower from whence he might see the whole city. "And how many Spanish skins," said he to him on his return, "do you think it would take to make such a glove (Gand) as that?" Alva remained silent. Strada De Bello Belgico, dec. i., lib. vii., p. 221.

† That of Count Guy in 1296.

1540 sovereign*; excepting the great charter obtained from Mary, daughter of Charles I., which he affirmed was invalid, as extorted by force, she being at the time under age, and detained a prisoner in Ghent. The judgment pronounced by the emperor, which the formidable body of troops within their walls left the Ghenters neither the power nor the inclination to resist, was marked by a severity calculated to deter the other cities of the Netherlands from a too bold assertion of obnoxious immunities. It was decreed that Ghent and all the other towns should abide by the decision of the majority of the states in the matter of subsidies: that the Ghenters, as guilty of treason, had forfeited all their franchises, their lives, and property: that besides their share of the 400,000 guilders, the primary cause of the disturbances, they should pay a fine of 150,000 guilders at once, and 6000 annually for ever: they were, moreover, to defray the expenses of a strong citadel erected within the town, to keep the inhabitants in subjection: twenty-six of the ringleaders, among the seditious, suffered death, and the others were condemned to pay heavy fines, or to undertake long and dangerous pilgrimages†. As the great majority concerned in this rebellion were of the poorer classes, the exaction of large sums of money from the town, whereby the most wealthy and peaceful citizens bore the chief share of the punishment, presents an example of those peculiar rules of justice often adopted by powerful monarchs, when the result of its execution is to bring supplies into their own treasury‡.

‡ Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 13, 15.

* The one granted by Count Louis in 1324.

† The conduct of the King of France, on a similar occasion, contrasts favourably with that of Charles, as well in respect of sound policy as of humanity. The Rochellois having mutinied against the collectors of the

Peace being thus restored to Ghent, the emperor 1540 set out on a journey to Holland, whither he had been invited by the advocate, Van der Goes, in the name of the states. First visiting Zealand, he proceeded through Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Delft, to the Hague, where he gave an audience to the states. They were again summoned at Haarlem, for the purpose of giving their consent to a petition of 100,000 guilders annually during six years. The nobles and the towns of Dordrecht, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, only having acceded to this demand, the governess desired that the votes of the majority should be esteemed a full consent, thus endeavouring to introduce into Holland the same system which had lately been carried into effect by force in Flanders. Yet the earnest remonstrances of the lords of Brederode and Assenfeldt, assisted by the advocate, Van der Goes, induced her to desist from this impolitic scheme, which would, in all probability, have met with more firm and lasting opposition in Holland, where the principle had always been recognized, that no measure should be considered as sanctioned by the states unless their votes were unanimous, and that the several members should not be called upon to bear any share in those taxes to which they had not given their assent. Shortly afterwards the states, being again summoned at Utrecht, came to an unanimous resolution to grant the required subsidy; Amsterdam, for its forwardness in voting so considerable a supply, obtained a modification in its favour of the staple-right of Dordrecht, from which all the towns of Holland were desirous of being relieved. The emperor decreed that, all wares coming from the

gabelle, were afterwards obliged to submit themselves to his mercy: Francis not only forbore to inflict any capital punishment on them, but restored their arms and franchises. Du Bellay, liv. ix., p. 521—524.

1540 north, except oak planks, bent, and wainscoting timber, should be permitted to pass by the way of Gouda and the Yssel to Amsterdam, without being first exposed for sale at the staple of Dordrecht^a.

From Holland the emperor went to Utrecht, the final union of which with Holland was completed about this time. It had been ardently wished for by the Hollanders, ever since its conquest from Charles of Guelderland; and in the year 1534 the Emperor had published an edict, declaring that, with the approbation of the Governess Mary, of the knights of the Golden Fleece, and of the members of the privy council and council of finance, the emperor, out of his mere knowledge, authority, and full power, united the city, towns, and country of Utrecht, on this side the Yssel, to Holland, to be governed by one stadtholder, and the states of both were to be henceforth summoned together*. The councils still remained distinct†. The opposition of the Utrechters had delayed till the present time the full accomplishment of this union, the consequences of which were subsequently so important to both countries. On the emperor's return to Holland from Utrecht, he appointed René de Chalons, prince of Orange, as stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht: his father, Henry of Nassau, was a German, and his mother, Claude de Chalons, a native of France; and thus, by the violation of a privilege often and vehemently insisted on by the Dutch, that "no foreigner should be appointed to the offices of the

^a Aert van der Goes, bl. 303—308.

[†] *Bor Oorsprong, &c., der Ned. Beroerten*, boek x., bl. 794.

* The states of Utrecht consisted of the nobility, clergy, and commons. The clergy were represented by deputies, chosen by the chapters of the five principal churches; the commons by deputies from the city of Utrecht and Amersfoort. Guicc. Des. Bel., tom. ii., p. 194.

county," did this illustrious family become invested 1540 with a dignity which, in process of time, they rendered nearly royal. Charles likewise issued a new edict for the regulation of the government, of much the same nature as that published in the year 1531. Whatever toleration the emperor might show towards the Protestants of Germany, who were sufficiently powerful to force him to terms, by no means extended to the Netherlands, where a decree of additional severity was issued, and commanded to be published every six months, preventing anabaptists, and heretics of all persuasions, from disposing of their property by will, and declaring all fugitives condemned to death without trial^a.

Within a short time from the visit of the emperor to the Netherlands, the renewal of the prohibition to export corn was once more the subject of vehement debates*. The fiscal advocate, who brought forward the project in the states, was with difficulty induced to wait for their decision, until they should depute some of their body to present a remonstrance against this grievance. Dordrecht alone refused to act in concert with the other towns, alleging that they had endeavoured to deprive her of her staple-right, and that she had a special permission to send corn out of the Maas. The deputies from the remainder, together with two nobles, were admitted to an audience of the 1541 governess at Binche, where they represented to her and the privy council, that the prohibition, and exaction of permit money, was not only contrary to their

^a *Repert der Plakaat.*, bl. 39. *Brandt's Hist. Ref.*, b. iii., bl. 141.

* At the assembly of the states held to consider of this subject, deputies from several of the small towns of the Waterland were present, their chief means of support being the export of corn. *Van der Goes*, bl. 313.

1541 ancient privileges and customs, but also to the imperial edict issued in 1531 : the foreign merchant, they said, would no longer come to fetch corn from Holland, nor would the Baltic traders bring it thither ; and the northern powers would seek to burden the merchants of Holland with new imposts, equivalent to that which was thus laid upon their wares : to this they added a remonstrance, which rarely failed in its effect, that the trade of Amsterdam and the towns of the Waterland would fall into so great decay if this measure were persisted in, that they should be totally unable to contribute their share of the petitions. The governors observing in answer, that the emperor did not wish to exercise his undoubted right of granting permits to the prejudice of the welfare of Holland, proposed as a modification, that foreign merchants not being able to sell their grain in Holland, might land, bond, and re-ship it, without payment of a permit ; and that native merchants might freely export as much grain as they themselves had brought from the Baltic. To this it was objected, that foreign traders were never accustomed to bring their corn to Holland, unless for the purpose of sale, since the ports of England were much easier of access in case it were found necessary to unship it ; and with regard to the second exception, they said that most of the merchants who brought corn from the Baltic were forced to sell immediately, in order to obtain ready money, and consequently, that it rarely happened, and then only among the richest merchants, that the same persons imported corn and exported it again ; and that, therefore, this exception would be no relief whatever to the large body of less opulent traders, who were accustomed to buy their corn in the country for the purpose of exportation. No remonstrance or reasoning, however, proved of suffi-

cient force to induce the governess to desist from her 1541 scheme. The states desired that they might plead the cause against the procuror-general before the great council of Mechlin, but were told that they should neither be heard or answered, but that the decree should be forthwith executed: a request that they might be allowed to petition the emperor was likewise peremptorily refused, and they separated in the highest discontent.

Hardly was the permit money begun to be levied, when the pernicious effects of the measure appeared. One hundred and fifty Baltic ships, accustomed to trade with Holland, sailed westward without coming into port. In Amsterdam it gave rise to some tumults, in which the receiver narrowly escaped with his life. The states, understanding that great difficulty was found in filling the office of receiver, since men feared to undertake it in the present temper of the people, again sent to petition the governess for a repeal of the obnoxious impost. She agreed to it on condition that 25,000 guilders should be paid to the emperor as an indemnification for the loss he would sustain. The states gladly accepted her proposal, Amsterdam consenting to pay a third of the required sum, and thus Holland was again relieved for some years from this injurious restriction on her trade^v.

While Holland was thus struggling to secure the freedom of her commerce, she was obliged to be no less vigilant in her efforts to preserve her civil immunities. The burghers of many of the towns could not, according to their laws, be condemned to a forfeiture of more than a certain sum in addition to the penalty of death for capital crimes. Yet the supreme court was now in the habit of continually inflicting the total

^v Aert van der Goes, bl. 310—335.

1541 loss of property, besides sentence of death, upon the followers of the new religious sects. The still more important privilege, "de non evocando," was likewise perpetually violated, and causes which should have been decided in the supreme court of Holland, were summoned before the council at Mechlin; nor could the earnest and repeated endeavours of the states prevent these abuses".

The emperor had manifested more than usual anxiety to procure supplies on account of an expedition he was preparing against Hayraddin Barbarossa, the corsair sovereign of Algiers. On his voyage thither in the summer of this year, he was accompanied by a large number of ships from Zealand as well as Holland: of the latter province, the town of Enkhuizen alone equipped four large caraveels for his service. Immediately after the landing of the troops, which was effected within two days of the arrival of the fleet, before Algiers, a violent storm arose, which drove the vessels from their anchors, when one hundred and forty were entirely destroyed; fifteen others being driven on shore, their crews were murdered by the Africans; and the remainder, having sustained considerable damage, were forced to seek refuge in the port of Metafuz. The Algerines, taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by this disaster, made a sally on the besiegers, of whom they killed three hundred, and wounded two hundred more. Dispirited by this attack, and wholly destitute of provisions, the land forces with difficulty effected a harassing and disastrous retreat to Metafuz. Immediately on their re-embarkation, another violent tempest entirely dispersed the fleet: some of the vessels, with their crews perished, and the others arrived singly and at different

* Aert van der Goes, *passim*.

times in the ports of Spain and Italy: the emperor 1541 himself landed safely at Carthagená in the month of November^x. No sooner did the tidings of these misfortunes reach the ears of the King of France, than he judged it a favourable opportunity for the renewal of the war with the emperor. Charles had, during his stay in France, led the king to expect the investiture of the Milanese for his second son, the Duke of Orleans, by a verbal promise to that effect; of which Francis, relying on the honour of the emperor, neglected either to obtain a ratification in writing, or to exact hostages for its fulfilment. So far from abiding by the pledge he had given, the emperor granted an income payable out of the revenues of the duchy to his niece, the widow of Francis Sforza, the late Duke of Milan, and whom he had married to Francis, eldest son of the Duke of Lorraine^y.

Filled with indignation at this breach of honour and good faith, and desirous of raising up enemies to the emperor on every side, Francis formed a league offensive and defensive with Christian III., king of Denmark, and Gustavus I., king of Sweden; a separate agreement being added to the treaty with the latter country, permitting the king to purchase in France as much salt as he thought fit, exempt from the gabelle^z. As the Swedes had hitherto been accustomed to depend entirely on Holland for their supplies of salt, the object of Francis in granting this permission was, to ruin, if possible, this branch of their trade. Besides these two alliances, Francis formed a third, no less injurious to the interests of the Netherlanders, with William, duke of Cleves, between whom and the

^x Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. ix., cap. 15, p. 171, 172.

^y Idem., lib. xi., cap. 15, p. 271.

^z Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 419, 422, 429.

1541 emperor, there had for some time existed a dispute concerning Guelderland. In the year 1538, the Duke Charles of Guelderland, being of a great age, and without issue, had endeavoured to induce the states of that duchy to receive the King of France as their sovereign. But the states, wisely judging that this monarch was at too great a distance to protect them in case of an attack on the part of the emperor, which was to be apprehended as the consequence of such a step, refused their consent; and passing over the descendants of Philippa, duchess of Lorraine, sister of Duke Charles, they settled the succession on William, the son of John, duke of Cleves and Juliers, descended by females from Reynold, the last reigning duke before the accession of the family of Egmond. This proof of neglect and contempt, from a people whose independence he had fought so long, and so bravely, to secure, broke the heart of the old hero. He fell sick, and died of grief and vexation; and upon his death, the Governess Mary sent to claim his states in the name of the emperor, by virtue of the covenants made to that effect with the late duke and his grandfather Arnold in 1473. William of Cleves founded his pretensions, as well on the covenant of the states as on his hereditary right; which latter, Charles justly asserted, had been surrendered by Gerard, count of Juliers, and his sons, in consideration of a large sum of money, at the same time that Duke Arnold made the transfer of the duchy to Charles of Burgundy. Both parties submitted their pretensions to the decision of the princes of the empire, and the case was still pending, when William, fearful lest their judgment should be given against him, sought to strengthen himself by an union with France*.

* Pontanus Gel. Hist., lib. xi., p. 793, 811. Hent. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 15.

Before the ratification of the treaties with the 1542 northern powers, which was not effected till the May of the following year, Francis had two armies on foot, the one destined for the Netherlands under the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Guise; while the other, commanded by the dauphin, marched to besiege Perpignan, in the county of Roussillon. The Duke of Orleans invading Luxemburg, soon reduced the whole of the duchy except Diedenhoven and Thionville to submission; when abruptly quitting it to join his brother in Roussillon, the Prince of Orange reconquered all the strong towns in as short a time as they had been lost. The results of the campaign in Roussillon were equally unprofitable to the French, since the whole time was consumed in the fruitless siege of Perpignan, which the dauphin was obliged to raise on the approach of the rainy season^b.

The King of Denmark, meanwhile, besides blockading the Sound against the Netherland ships, kept Holland and Zealand throughout the whole summer in constant fear of an invasion. Outlyers were stationed in the Vlie and the Texel; the beacons at Goeree were removed, and the buoys taken up; the peasants of West Friezland likewise received commands from the stadtholder to exercise themselves in arms, and to assist in garrisoning the neighbouring towns^c.

The Guelderlanders, and troops of the Duke of Juliers, under Marten van Rossem, turned their arms against Brabant, where the Prince of Orange advanced to meet them with only 500 horse and 3000 infantry, while the enemy numbered 12,000 foot and 1500 horse. Having fallen into an ambush laid for him by Rossem, near Brescot, he was forced to retreat to Antwerp,

^b Du Bellay, liv. ix., p. 507—511.

^c Velius Hoorn., bl. 143.

1542 with the loss of the greater part of his men. Thither van Rossem followed him, flattering himself that the city, before it should recover from its first consternation, would surrender at his summons. In this, however, he was disappointed; and being destitute of artillery, he was unable to lay siege to this or any other strong town in Brabant. He therefore contented himself with ravaging the open country, and retired to effect a junction with the French army in Luxemburg; when the Prince of Orange revenged the injuries committed in Brabant, by the invasion of Kuremonde, and the duchy of Juliers, where he made himself master of Juliers and some other towns^d.

For the support of the war, Holland had consented to two extraordinary petitions, one of 80,000, and another of 60,000 guilders; and Zealand to one of 16,000, and another of 20,000 guilders. This proved, however, insufficient; for the governess, aware that the King of France designed to employ the greater part of his forces during the next campaign to push the war with vigour in the Netherlands, assembled the states-general at Brussels towards the end of the year, and declaring that as all the monies voted had already been applied, notwithstanding which, large sums were still wanting, and that the usual means of ordinary and extraordinary petitions would avail but little in the present emergency, she proposed first, That a hundredth penny should be paid on the value of all the merchandise exported; secondly, that a tenth should be levied on the income of all immoveable property; and thirdly, the like proportion on the yearly profits of merchants. The deputies received a copy of this proposition in writing, with an order to re-assemble at Ghent in

^d Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 16, 17, 18.

December, and bring the answers of their constituents^c.

At the meeting then held, the states of Brabant consented to the levy of the tenth; others preferred paying a certain limited sum; while the deputies from the states of Holland excused themselves altogether from attendance, on account of the shortness of the time, the bad state of the roads from the recent thaw, and various other pretexts. During their delay, the governess threatened that if they persisted in refusing, she would exact from them 25,000 guilders a month for six months, and commanded them to attend at Brussels, with full powers to accede to the proposal, on pain of her severe displeasure.

She had already given orders for the levy of the hundredth penny on the value of goods exported. But the states of Holland meant nothing less than that it should be continued. On meeting at Brussels, the 1543 deputies plainly declared to the governess, that they could give no answer concerning the tenth, until this impost were abolished, which they held as a violation of the freedom from toll promised them by the emperor, and as directly tending to drive away their trade, on which they said they entirely depended for subsistence; adding, that if it were persisted in, so far from being able to contribute 200,000 guilders a year for the emperor's service as they had done, they should not be able to collect 50,000. The governess manifested high displeasure at these uncourtly remonstrances. She replied, that "She never would abolish the hundredth penny since she had imposed it by virtue of the sovereign authority of the emperor, which she would in nowise allow to be impaired." The debates were carried on with much acrimony on both sides, when the deputies

^c Aert van der Goes, p. 348.

1543 discovered from Mary herself, that the real cause of her obstinacy was not her fear of lessening the dignity of the emperor, but that she had already mortgaged the tax to one Jacob Doulx, for the sum of 200,000 guilders. To save, therefore, the credit of their sovereign, they consented to the levy of the hundredth for one year. On the subject of the tenth, the governess had declared her willingness to accept of 150,000 guilders for six months in lieu of it. Amsterdam, Leyden, and Gouda, refused to go higher than 120,00; while the nobles, Dordrecht, Haarlem, and Delft, "who placed their votes in the mouth, and at the pleasure of the queen," did not cease to urge the other three to consent to the whole sum. The deputies, therefore, not being able to agree upon this point, consented to the levy of the tenth for an indefinite period. The stadtholder also obtained from them the payment of 50,000 guilders, which he had expended for the public service; but they rejected the further demand of the governess, that they should liquidate the arrears due to the troops in Utrecht and Holland¹.

It happened now, as it had done in the year 1437, that while the Netherlanders were occupied with discussions concerning the means of maintaining the troops, the King of France opened the campaign within their boundaries. Landrecy, Bapaume, and Maubeuge, fell into his hands before the Netherland army was in a sufficient state of preparation to oppose his movements, and the duchy of Luxemburg was overrun with the same ease as in the preceding year. The Duke of Cleves, meanwhile, recovered all the places in Juliers which had been captured by the Prince of Orange, except Heusberg, and defeated the army sent by the governess, under Philip de Croye, lord of Aarschot, to

¹ Aert van der Goes, bl. 350—356.

throw supplies into that town, of which he commenced 1543 the siege; a reinforcement of troops advancing, under the Prince of Orange, forced him in a short time to raise it, when he surrendered the command of his army once more to Martin van Rossem, who invaded Utrecht, and made himself master of Amersfoort.

The emperor having much at heart the possession of Guelderland, resolved to direct the principal force of his arms against William of Cleves. Having assembled an army of 36,000 infantry, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Netherlanders, and 8000 horse, he marched at their head into Juliers, and laid siege to Duuren, the strongest town in that duchy. The garrison, commanded by Gerard von Vlaken, a nobleman of Juliers, consisted of no more than 2000 choice native infantry, with 800 horse, 1000 volunteers on foot, and 800 foreign cavalry. The imperial army bringing forty pieces of heavy artillery to bear on the wall, soon effected a breach. The inhabitants defended themselves bravely for some time, but being overpowered by numbers, and their commander slain, the town was carried by storm, when the Spaniards and Italians, many of whom had been killed in the different onsets, commenced a fearful massacre. Having entirely pillaged the town, they, without the knowledge of the emperor, set it on fire. Terrified at this example, the other towns offered no further resistance, but hastened to tender their submission, and deliver the keys of their gates to Charles. William of Cleves, who had entered into the war upon the firm conviction that the emperor had perished in the African expedition, now finding himself unable to make head against so powerful an enemy, determined

* Du Bellay, liv. x., p. 533, 535, 543, 545. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi, cap. 20.

1543 upon a timely submission. He therefore repaired to the presence of the emperor, who had retired to Venloo, fell at his feet, and acknowledging his fault, humbly sued for pardon. Charles, whose policy it was at this juncture to conciliate the German princes, satisfied himself with enforcing his right upon Guelderland and Zutphen, restoring the states of the duke entire, with the exception of the towns of Sittard and Heinsberg. William engaged to surrender his conquest of Amersfoort, to renounce the alliance of France, Denmark, and Sweden, and promised to admit of no innovations in the Catholic religion in his states. Martin van Rossem being included in the treaty, afterwards took service with the emperor^h.

Within a few days from this treaty, the states of Guelderland and Zutphen did homage to the emperor, who confirmed their privileges, and engaged for himself and his successors, to bestow no offices of the duchy except upon such as could speak the language, and were able to perform the duties of them in person; to appoint no stadtholder who was ignorant of their language; and to impose no taxes except with the consent of the greater and lesser nobility, and deputies of the towns, according to the ancient usageⁱ. So watchful were the Guelderlanders over their liberties, even when treating with a powerful prince, whom they might regard in the light of a conqueror. By the submission of Guelderland, the whole of the Netherland states were for the first time united under one sovereign. In Guelderland, the states were composed of three orders, of which the four great baronial families of Bronkhorst, Bergen, Baren, and Wissen, were esteemed the first; the second was formed of

^h Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 22.

ⁱ Pontanus Gel. Hist., lib. xii., p. 833, 836.

the vassals of the duke and the bailiffs of the open 1543 country, the number of whom was uncertain, since it might be increased or diminished at the duke's pleasure; afterwards, some of the more wealthy families came to be reckoned in this inferior order of nobility; the third order, or commons, consisted of the deputies from the principal towns of the four districts into which Guelderland was divided; viz., Nimeguen, Ruremonde, Zutphen, and Arnheim. The states were summoned by the duke at such time and place as he thought fit; their business was to deliberate on all matters concerning peace and war; the forming alliances; the coinage; the taxes necessary to be imposed for the expenses of the government; and the alienation or expenditure of the public revenues: their decisions became law only after they had received the confirmation of the duke. After the termination of the government of their native sovereigns, the states were reduced to two orders only; those nobles who had obtained the right of voting by prescription, and the deputies of the four great towns. The council of state, in which the duke or his stadtholder presided, was composed of the treasurer of the duchy, the chancellor, and about twelve members; its judicial authority was more extensive than that of the council of Holland; and after the union of Guelderland with the other Netherlands, the council of state had the privilege, in common with the stadtholder, of summoning the states of the duchy. The municipal government was essentially the same with that of Holland^k.

A final termination being thus put to the long and ruinous warfare with Guelderland, the emperor marched into Hainault, to arrest the progress of the French arms in that province. On his arrival, he laid siege

^k Guicc. Belg. Des., tom. ii., p. 5—12,

1543 with his whole force to Landrecy; but Francis having succeeded in throwing a fresh supply of troops and provisions into the town, the undertaking was by this, and the advanced season of the year, rendered utterly hopeless; the emperor, therefore, withdrew his troops into winter quarters. The Netherlands maintained during the whole summer a considerable fleet at sea, by means of which they interrupted entirely the navigation of the French merchantmen. Ten transport ships belonging to the former entered the harbour of Bourdeaux in the month of May, captured seventeen vessels laden with wine and other wares for Normandy, sunk and burnt several others, and returned into the ports of Zealand enriched with valuable booty¹.

The events of this campaign had fallen far short of the emperor's expectations, and he therefore determined to make such alliances as would enable him to proceed in the next with renewed vigour. His views were greatly facilitated by the conduct of his rival, and the imprudent alliance he had formed with Solyman, sultan of Constantinople, at a time when men's minds, heated by theological discussions, were less than ever prepared to tolerate the entire sacrifice of religious scruples to political interest. Nor did Charles suffer so powerful an engine against him to lie idle. He had in the beginning of the year concluded a treaty with Henry VIII. of England, between whom and Francis many causes of dissatisfaction had arisen; and the emperor, in consequence, received the assistance of 6000 English troops at the siege of Landrecy^m. The close union contracted by the French king with his enemies the Scotch, served to exasperate still further Henry's dis-

¹ Du Bellay, liv. x., p. 549, 554.

^m Rym. Fœd., tom. xiv., p. 768.

content, and induced him to enter into an engagement 1544 with the emperor, that they should invade France in concert*, and march, the one from Calais, the other from the Netherlands, directly to Paris, without waiting to besiege any of the fortified towns on their routeⁿ. Having thus secured the powerful co-operation of the King of England, Charles appointed Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle and Viglius van Zuichem to negotiate a peace with the ambassadors of Christian III., king of Denmark, at Spire. Christian had not reaped the advantages he promised himself from his connection with France, and had likewise found a sensible diminution in his revenues from the cessation of the tolls usually paid by the merchant ships of Zealand and Holland in the Baltic. He therefore easily consented to abandon the French alliance, to enter into a defensive league with the emperor, and to confirm the Holland merchants in all the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed^o.

While courting the aid of foreign potentates, Charles, by painting in the strongest colours to the Protestant princes of Germany the iniquity of the union formed between Francis and the Turks, and by granting extraordinary and important concessions for the security of their religion, induced them to furnish their full contingent of money and troops for his service^p.

* Rym. Fœd., tom. xv., p. 40. Du Bellay, liv. x., p. 576, 577.

^o Sleidan, lib. xv., p. 325. Dumont, Corps Dip., tom. iv., p. 2., pa. 274.

^p Sleidan, lib. xv., p. 318—325.

* Robertson says, on the authority of Herbert and Du Bellay, with 23,000 men each (Hist. Chas. V., book vii., p. 267). Hume, quoting no authority at all, says their forces amounted to above 100,000 men (chap. xxxiii., p. 245). The quotation from Du Bellay is not correct; he says that 70,000 or 80,000 foot and 18,000 or 20,000 horse were about the numbers of the two armies, liv. x., p. 277.

1544 Thus strongly supported, and at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, Charles conceived that the conquest of France would prove an easy task, and was heard openly to boast, that within three months the kingdom should be entirely conquered, and the king made tributary to him^a. Empty as the sequel proved this vaunt to be, appearances at the time seemed almost to justify it. Francis, when the emperor commenced offensive operations against him, was unprovided with a single ally, except Scotland alone, since he had found it advisable to renounce the friendship of the Turkish monarch, because of the obloquy he incurred on that account. Instead, however, of marching directly to Paris, as had been agreed upon with the King of England, Charles, having taken Commercy, and Ligny in the duchy of Bar, laid siege to St. Dizier in Champagne. Henry, finding him thus employed on his arrival in France, conceived the idea that he intended to allow him to perform the expedition to Paris alone, while he himself secured the possession of Champagne. For this reason, instead of advancing further into the country, he sat down before Boulogne*; the Duke of Norfolk, with a part of the army, having shortly before united with the imperialists under the Count de Buuren, in laying siege to Montreuil. Before the walls of St. Dizier, perished Renée of Nassau, prince of Orange, and stadtholder of Holland, in the twenty-seventh year of his age; while employed in viewing the trenches, a stone, shot from

^a Sleidan, lib. xv., p. 336.

* Some Netherland troops joined his camp at this siege, of whose prowess, however, he gives no very flattering account; for he writes to the queen, "such as we have of them will doe no good where any daunger is, nor yet abide there with their wyll." Rym. Foed., tom. xv., p. 51.

the wall, struck him with such violence on the shoulder, that he survived the injury only one day. He left the principality of Orange and his other states to his first cousin, William of Nassau, afterwards so illustrious in the annals of Dutch history, the son of William Count of Nassau-Dillenberg, and at this time about eleven years of age. The stadtholdership of Holland was conferred on Louis, lord of Praat, descended from an illegitimate son of Louis van der Male, the last Count of Flanders before its union with Burgundy^r.

The siege of St. Dizier kept the arms of the emperor long employed; and it was only by a stratagem, it is said, on the part of Granvelle that its brave defender, the Count of Sancerre, was induced to surrender it. Charles had lost many of his best troops in the frequent skirmishes which took place during its continuance; his army began to suffer from scarcity of provisions; and the mistrust between himself and the King of England, occasioned by the failure of both to fulfil their engagements, daily augmented^s. He was therefore by no means disinclined to hearken to the overtures of peace made by the French court; but as no cessation of arms had been agreed on, he continued to penerate farther into France, taking by surprise Epernay and Chateau Thierry; he found at both places abundant stores of provisions, of which his army stood in the utmost need. His advance served rather to hasten than retard the negotiations, by increasing the anxiety of the King of France to bring them to a conclusion. A separate treaty was therefore made between the emperor and Francis, at Crespi, confirming in most of its particulars

^r Du Bellay, liv. x., p. 577—583. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xii., cap. 3, p. 285. Adrian van der Goes Regist. op'tjaar 1544, bl. 47.

^s Vide Letter of Henry, Rym. Fœd., tom. xv., p. 50.

1544 those concluded at Cambray and Nice; the conquered places were restored on both sides; the King of France made a fresh renunciation of the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois; and the emperor engaged to give his eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the King of the Romans, in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, settling the Netherlands as a dowry on the former, or the duchy of Milan on the latter. The emperor to whom the choice was left, afterwards declared in favour of the marriage with the daughter of the King of the Romans, but the sudden death of the Duke of Orleans prevented the fulfilment of the contract^t.

After the conclusion of the peace, the emperor attended in person the assembly of the states general of the Netherlands, held at Brussels, where he demanded of the deputies from Holland a supply of 100,000 guilders. The states, on meeting at the Hague to consider of this proposal, were not unwilling to consent to the whole subsidy, provided the tax of the hundredth penny should be first abolished, which, as they represented, was imposed only for a year, and continued on account of the war, but was in direct contravention of a privilege of exemption from tolls granted in 1495 by Philip, king of Castile, and had caused many merchants to desert Holland and remove to other countries. Charles at length agreed to yield this much contested point, when the whole sum required was instantly voted^u.

While the emperor was still at Brussels, where he was detained by a severe attack of the gout, Pope Paul III. issued a bull, summoning a general council of the Church at Trent on the 15th of March of the

^t Du Bellay, liv. x., p. 583, 589. Recueil des Traités, tom. ii., p. 430, 441. Heut., Rer. Aust., lib. xii., cap. 8, p. 289.

^u Regist. van Adrian van der Goes, op'tjaar 1544, bl. 53—62.

following year^v. This measure had long been vehemently called for by all ranks of men, both of the Protestant and Catholic religion, and no less dreaded by the popes and superior clergy. To appease the universal clamour, and at the same time to avoid as much as possible the prejudicial effects to his authority which he apprehended from it, Paul III., in the year 1536, called a council at Mantua, where he might ensure the attendance of a majority of prelates devoted to the holy see: this was prevented, as well by the refusal of the Protestants to appear there, as on account of the difficulties raised by the Duke of Mantua. A summons to another general council at Vicenza, in the territory of Venice, had been attended with the like issue, since neither the French nor German prelates were permitted by their sovereigns to be present^w. Finding it indispensable, therefore, that he should fix upon some place of meeting without the confines of Italy, the pope had, in the year 1542, issued a bull of summons to all the prelates of Europe to repair in the month of November to Trent, a town in the Tyrol, under the dominion of Ferdinand, king of Bohemia. As the war then raging between the emperor and king of France rendered travelling unsafe for the subjects of both these monarchs, the assembly was found to be composed entirely of Italian prelates, and even these were by no means in sufficient numbers to afford a pretext for denominating it a general council; it was therefore speedily dissolved^x.

The one now summoned for the month of March, 1545 did not actually assemble until the December of the same year, being delayed from time to time by the

^v Sleidan, lib. xvi., p. 340.

^w Idem, lib. xi., p. 229, 230; lib. xii., p. 240.

^x Idem, lib. xiv., p. 206. *Lettres et Mémoires de Vargas*, p. 20.

1545 objections which the Protestant princes offered to the place where the council was summoned, as being too near the papal dominions, and to the proposed constitution of the assembly, as placing it entirely under the direction of the pope's legates. Neither were the emperor's schemes sufficiently ripe for execution to admit of his rousing the Protestants of Germany from that state of security into which his behaviour, before the last campaign in France, had so effectually lulled them⁷.

Meanwhile, his conduct in the Netherlands was well calculated to give them a foretaste of what they had to expect. He there issued an edict, confirming all the former severe penal decrees against heretics; the prohibition against printing any books, except by permission of the emperor, was renewed; and no one was allowed to keep a school unless he had been previously approved of by the public officers or pastor of the place where he resided; for the first offence a fine was imposed, and banishment for the second⁸.

Deeply anxious as the emperor might have been to conceal the designs he had formed against the Protestants of Germany, the preparations he was under the necessity of making for their execution, soon rendered them apparent. He demanded of the Netherlands subsidies both in men and money. The states of Holland* granted him a petition of 600,000 guilders,

⁷ Sleidan, lib. xiv., p. 292.

⁸ Repert. der Plakaat., bl. 50, 51. Brandt. Hist. der Ref., boek iii., bl. 150.

* It was on this occasion that the emperor first demanded a petition without summoning any one of the small towns, according to the "old custom;" their number had been gradually decreasing, and the questions upon which they were summoned becoming fewer for some years before. Adrian van der Goes, op'tjaar 1545, bl. 40.

to be paid in six years, with no small reluctance, 1545 indeed, since they were scarcely in a condition to contribute so large a sum, even for puposes far less repugnant to the views and feelings of a great majority of the inhabitants, than that to which it was to be applied. The people were, by continual exactions and the dearness of provisions, so grievously oppressed, that in some of the towns it was only by threats of imprisonment they could be induced to pay their proportion of the petitions. The new income tax of the tenth penny, laid on two years before, had proved singularly unproductive: numbers of persons had given in the returns of their incomes far too low, and the collectors, disinclined to lay open to the court the private affairs of their fellow-citizens, had generally connived at the deception: so that the tenth penny upon merchants' profits estimated at 75,000 guilders, produced no more than 1200, of which Haarlem, a town of extensive trade, particularly in broad cloths, paid but eighty-nine, and four stuyvers, (or 7*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*.) while the payment upon the rents of houses amounted only to 939 guilders. To remedy these deficiencies, the governess, with some difficulty, induced the states to consent that commissioners should be appointed, under an oath of strict secrecy, to examine the registers and accounts of the receivers. Their efforts to reform the errors or frauds committed by the latter appear to have been attended with success, since the complaints which had hitherto been frequent of their negligence and bad faith became much more rare^a.

While the emperor was endeavouring to amuse the Protestants of Germany with professions of a sincere desire for peace, the Count of Buuren assembled, in

^a Thuanus, lib. ii., cap. 7. Adrian van der Goes, passim 1544, bl. 24, 26, 28; 1545, bl. 31, 40, 56.

the Netherlands, a body of 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; he was joined by several of the principal nobility, Lamoral, count of Egmond, Henry van Brederode, Andrew van Wassenaar, and others as volunteers, all eager to manifest their zeal for the faith. The nobility of Holland still continued, for the most part, Catholics, the reformed religion having spread itself chiefly among the inferior gentry, merchants, and artizans^b.

The noise of the emperor's preparations and the hasty zeal of the pope, in declaring openly the resolution taken by himself and the emperor to extirpate heresy, at length awakened the Protestant princes to a
 1546 sense of their danger. Though unable to obtain the assistance of any foreign ally, they assembled with incredible celerity an army of 70,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry; a force so far superior to that raised by the emperor, that had his adversaries possessed sufficient resolution and promptitude to strike a decisive blow before the arrival of the Count of Buuren and the army which the pope was to send from Italy, it is more than probable that they would have procured a lasting triumph to the Protestant cause. But proceeding with unwillingness to such extremities against their sovereign, they deliberated when they should have acted, and by their hesitation allowed the Italians and Netherlanders to effect a junction with the imperial troops^c. The same irresolution marked the whole of their movements during this disastrous war; it was the distinguishing feature in the character of their leader, John Frederic, elector of Saxony; while that of the other chief of the confederacy, Philip, landgrave of

^b Sleidan, lib. xvii., p. 372, 373. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xii., cap. 7.

^c Thuanus, lib. ii., cap. 13, 14, 15, 16. Sleidan, lib. xvii., p. 376, 388.

Hesse, was marked by jealousy and precipitation*. Of 1546 equal authority in the camp, and never acting heartily in concert, it generally happened that, while they were debating, the opportunity for action was lost. Even after the junction of the Italian and Netherland troops the Protestants, instead of forcing the emperor to battle, when they would have had the advantage of their still superior numbers, and the energy which their cause should have inspired, allowed him to master one by one their strong towns, to cut off their supplies, and to consume their strength in useless and harassing marches. It was in this enfeebled and dispirited condition that Charles obliged them to fight the celebrated and fatal battle of Muhlberg which, as it is well known, ended in the total defeat of the Protestants and the capture of their head, the Elector of Saxony. After this event, such members of the Protestant confederacy as were yet in arms submitted successively to the emperor, who levied upon them enormous fines as the price of their pardon. The Landgrave of Hesse likewise fell afterwards into his hands; and he carried with him these illustrious prisoners in a subsequent journey he made into the Netherlands, as well to gratify his own vanity and vindictive spirit, as to deter the Reformers in those countries from the like attempts to resist his authority in religious matters^d. Happily

^d Thuanus, lib. ii., iv.; lib. v., cap. 8. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xii., cap. 10, 13, 15. Sleidan, lib. xviii.

* Such is the character of the two princes given by de Thou, (lib. ii., cap. 17, p. 80,) but although the Landgrave of Hesse showed great promptitude in advising that they should at once attack the emperor at Ingoldstadt with their whole force, yet it was he who insisted upon the dilatory and impolitic measure of waiting for the decision of the Elector of Bavaria; and he likewise wished that they should continue to give to Charles the title of Emperor, while the Duke of Saxony was of opinion that by so doing they would justify the accusation made against them of rebellion. Sleidan, lib. xvii., p. 394. Thuanus, lib. ii., cap. 15.

1546 Luther did not live to behold the overthrow and oppression of his brethren in the faith; he had breathed his last on the 18th of February of this year at Isleben, his native town, whence his body was carried to Wittemberg, and buried there five days after^c.

^c Sleidan, lib. xvi., p. 363.

CHAPTER VI.

Standing Army established in the Netherlands. Scheme of Incorporating the Netherlands with the Empire. Death of Maximilian van Egmond. Acknowledgment of Philip. Settlement of the Succession. Oaths of Acknowledgment. Edicts against Heretics. Attempt to establish the Inquisition. Opposition of Antwerp. Treaty with Scotland. With France. Council of Trent. Removed to Bologna. Interim published by the Emperor. Council resumes its sittings at Trent. Netherland Prelates sent thither. Termination of its Deliberations. War between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes of Germany. War with France. Treaty of Passau. Towns captured in Lorraine. Protection of Navigation. Debates on Subsidies. Terouanne and Hesdin besieged and destroyed. Marriage of Philip with the Queen of England. Invasion of Hainault and Artois. Naval Engagement. Demand of Subsidies. Violation of Privileges. Attempt to gain possession of the National Charters. Fresh Demands. Resignation of the Emperor. Observations on Holland.

THE termination of the German war had created 1548 in the Netherlanders a hope that they should now be freed from the burden of maintaining mercenary soldiers, which they had borne with somewhat of impatience for several years. They were not a little amazed, therefore, when the emperor declared his intention of keeping a force of 4000 horse constantly on the boundaries of the Netherlands, who should take the oath of allegiance to him alone^a. They had, until the time of Maximilian, been accustomed to consider their burgher guards, who swore allegiance to the governments of the cities to which they belonged, as sufficient for their defence in time of peace, though the princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria had always industriously sought pretexts for maintaining a standing army in these states.

^a Rep. der Plak., bl. 57.

1548 About this time a plan was formed for incorporating the Netherlands with the body of the Germanic empire, under the name of the circle of Burgundy, and rendering them liable to contribute their quota to its burdens in the same manner as the other circles. The question whether or not Holland was to be considered as a fief of the empire, has given rise to vehement debates among her historians. As the county was partly indebted for its existence* to the grants made at different times by the emperors, it seems reasonable to conclude, that the counts always owed allegiance to them; and from the retention of the impost called "hunslade," in that made by Otho III. to Count Theodore II.†, it appears that the homage due was originally a full, or liege homage; if so, it afterwards (probably on the decline of the imperial power under the princes of the house of Hohenstauffen in the twelfth century) dwindled into nothing more than a simple homage (*homagium planum*), or mere acknowledgment of feudal superiority‡; the counts were styled "liberi vassalli" of the empire^b, a term not precisely explained in Du Cange's Glossary, but which I take to mean such vassals as were bound to no other service than that expressed

^b Beka, p. 77.

* I say partly, because however widely we may fix the now uncertain limits of the grants made by the emperors, they will by no means suffice to account for the whole of the territories of which we find the Counts of Holland in possession; even supposing that by the "forest of Waeda" granted to Gerolf, count in Friesland in 889, the island of Walcheren is meant, the remainder of Zealand, and the whole of West Friesland is nowhere mentioned in such of the imperial charters as remain to us; the conjecture therefore of later historians is very probable, that a portion of the county was conquered by the predecessors of Theodore I. from the Danes; it is most likely too that they governed their conquests as independent sovereigns.

† Vid. chap. 1.

Vid. Du Cange in "*Homagium*."

in the grant of the fiefs they held. Accordingly, we 1548 find that the suzerainty of the emperor over Holland gave him no right to interfere in its internal government, as was the case with the King of France in respect of Flanders, nor did an appeal lie from the court of Holland to the court of the empire as in Utrecht*. Neither did the Counts of Holland assist the emperors in the wars of the empire of necessity, and as vassals of the empire, but only when induced to do so by circumstances of family connection, or political interest. It is true that the emperors conferred the county more than once on different princes as an escheated fief^d; but the possession never followed the grant, except in the case of Margaret, wife of the Emperor Louis VII., and she would have inherited the county without any such grant, as next heir to William IV., Count of Holland, who died without issue^e.

That the Counts of Holland owed allegiance at all times to the emperors, in so far as regarded the bare acknowledgment of feudal superiority, there are innumerable documents to prove; but it seems no less clear that they were free and independent sovereigns in their sates, or, as it is expressed by a writer of the fourteenth century, "the Count of Holland is emperor in his county^f." With regard to Utrecht and Guelderland, the question was far less difficult to decide;

* Grotius de Ant. Reip. Bat., p. 59.

^d Thes. Mart. et Durand, tom. i., cap. 1153, 1154. Beka in Wilhelmo, p. 102. Ghemeene Chronyck, divis. xxviii., deel. 9.

^e Beka in Johan., 4to., p. 119.

^f Phil. à Leid. de curà Reip. Grotius de Ant. Reip. Bat., p. 60.

* On the demand made by Louis XI., king of France, that Philip I. should deliver up Rubempré, who was a prisoner in Holland, the duke replied, that he was sovereign of Holland both by sea and land, without acknowledging any other lord but God. Monstrelet, vol. x., chap. 30, p. 179.

1548 they were undoubtedly fiefs of the empire, although by virtue of their peculiar privileges, they claimed exemption from any share in its burdens. The matter long discussed between the princes of the diet and the Netherlands, was at length submitted to the emperor, who decided that the hereditary states of the Netherlands, with the duchy of Guelderland, and county of Zutphen, and the lordships of Friezland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, should form a circle of the empire, called the circle of the "Burgundian hereditary states," and should furnish contingents of men and money equal to two electoral princes, except in case of a general war against the Turks, when they were to contribute as much as three; that they, on their part, should enjoy the protection and support of the empire, reserving all their remaining rights, jurisdictions, and privileges; the emperor, and his heirs, should be summoned to the diets of the empire, and vote as Archdukes of Austria. If the provinces failed to bear their part in the burdens of the empire, they should for this cause, and for no other whatever, be summoned to the imperial council at Spire^s.

This agreement was ratified by all the states of the Netherlands; but not without considerable difficulty on the part of the Hollanders, who desired to make it a condition that their share of the contingent to be furnished to the empire, should be taken out of the petitions granted by the states. At length, induced by the example of the other provinces, they accepted and ratified the agreement simply, adding that as a request, which they at first were inclined to insist on as a condition^h.

^s Meteren, fol. 11. Sleidan, lib. xx., p. 466. Thuanus, lib. v., cap. 7, p. 177. Dumont, Corps Dip., tom. iv., p. 2, pa. 340.

^h Regist. van Adrian van der Goes op'tjaar, 1549, bl. 21.

Charles at this time entertained a project of sub- 1548
stituting his son Philip in the place of his brother,
as King of the Romans, and rendering the imperial
crown hereditary in the person of the former; but
finding himself unable to carry it into effect, in conse-
quence of the firm refusal of Ferdinand to dispossess
himself of his dignity, he became shortly after, as
anxious to separate the Netherlands again from the
empire, as he had before been to incorporate them with
it. This agreement, therefore, was unattended with
any results to the provinces, nor was the claim to them
as part of the empire subsequently put forward by the
Emperor Rodolph II., and founded upon it, acknow-
ledged either by Spain or the Netherlands¹.

Towards the end of this year, died Maximilian van
Egmond, count of Buuren, an able and experienced
commander, for many years captain-general of the
Netherlands. He left his lordships of Buuren, Leer-
dam, Ysselstein, &c., to his only child Anna, who, by
her marriage with the young Prince of Orange in 1551,
brought these estates into the family of Nassau-
Orange².

During the emperor's visit to the Netherlands, 1549
after the conclusion of the civil war in Germany, he
summoned thither his son Philip, for the purpose of
obtaining his acknowledgment by the states as their
"future sovereign lord, and natural prince." There
was only one precedent afforded by his predecessors,
the Counts of Holland, for such an act; and that was
in the case of William VI. (1417), who, fearing that
his brother, John of Bavaria, might seek to deprive his
daughter Jacoba of her inheritance, induced the nobles
and towns to swear allegiance to her as future sove-

¹ Thuanus, lib. v., cap. 9; lib. vii., cap. 1.

² Idem, lib. v., cap. 17.

1549 reign before his death. But, however unusual such a proceeding might have been, or however uncalled for it may have appeared in the present case, where no dispute concerning the hereditary succession could possibly arise, more than one reason prompted Charles to its adoption. His son, born in Spain, and totally ignorant of either the Flemish or Dutch languages, was regarded with but little affection by the Netherlanders; added to this, he had already obtained a sinister reputation for severity in matters of religion, to which, not only the people at large, but likewise the governments of the towns, were becoming daily more averse; while on the other hand, there were many of the native nobility who stood high in the public favour. Among these was conspicuous, Reynold, lord of Brederode, a nobleman esteemed alike for his personal qualifications, and valued for his descent from the ancient Counts of Holland*, whose memory was still fondly cherished by the people; and it appeared not unlikely that after the death of Charles, in case of the continued absence of Philip, he would be raised by the popular voice to the seat of his forefathers. He had some years before drawn upon himself the heavy displeasure of the emperor, by assuming the arms of Holland¹. Charles had besides, as it soon became evident, determined to cause the edicts against heresy to be executed to the utmost extent of rigour, wherein he judged that the assistance of Philip might be highly useful to him.

On the arrival of Philip at Brussels, the states of Holland sent deputies to welcome him, and, under the

¹ Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xi., cap. 15, 270.

* His ancestor was Sigefrid, youngest son of Arnold, the third Count of Holland.

name of a gratuity, consented to the demand of 50,000 1549 Philip's guilders (5625*l.*), made by the stadtholder on his behalf; similar presents were likewise made him by all the other states*. He was acknowledged first in Brussels and Louvain as future Duke of Brabant, and afterwards in the principal towns of the counties of Flanders, Hainault, and Artois; having been received in Mechlin as heir to that lordship, he passed over into Zealand, where, in order to save him the fatigues of a longer voyage, the states took the oath of allegiance at Reimerswale, instead of at Middleburg and Zierikzee, according to the ancient custom, with reservation, however, of the privileges of these towns for the future. After visiting all the great towns of Holland, Philip proceeded to the newly-acquired provinces of Utrecht, Overijssel, and Guelderland, the latter of which presented him with 13,000 *lis d'or*. The Count of Aremberg, in the name of the prince, received the homage of Groningen and Friezland, in the beginning of the following year^m.

At the same time that Charles signified his desire that the states should swear allegiance to his son, he declared that, since in some of the Netherlands the right of representative and collateral succession was not in use†, and considering of how much importance

* Register van Adrian van der Goes, 1549, bl. 24—27. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiii., cap. 2.

* *Magnâ quoque pecuniâ præstationis gratuitæ nomine exactâ.*—Thuanus, lib. vi., cap. 2.

† The right of inheritance from a father who had never been seised of the estate, appears to have been by no means generally admitted in Europe during the earlier ages, either in regard to private property or the succession to the crown. Edward III. of England, before his intended departure for Guienne, in 1346, obtained an acknowledgment from the barons of the former country, that, in case Edward, the Black Prince, died before his father, his son, Richard, should succeed as King of England, after the death of his grandfather. And subsequently to the

1549 it was to their welfare, that they should remain united under one sovereign, he had resolved, with the consent and approbation of the states, to place the succession to the provinces on an uniform footing, by admitting in all of them the right of representative and collateral inheritance^a.

- The cause of the emperor's anxiety on this point was to secure the whole of the provinces to his grandson, Charles, the infant child of Philip, by his wife, Mary, daughter of John, king of Portugal, who died a short time after its birth. In the event of Philip's decease before his father, a portion of Holland and Utrecht, where representative succession was not admitted, would not have descended to his son; while in Friezland and Guelderland, females were excluded from the right of succession, which Charles, by thus fixing it on a regular and uniform footing, secured to his daughters, Mary and Joanna, in case of the death both of Philip and his son, or to his sisters, on the failure of lineal heirs.

The states of all the provinces consented unanimously to his desire, at which proof of their complaisance he was so highly gratified, that he allowed them to make the oath administered to Philip on his acknowledgment as ample and as binding as they thought fit. According to the terms, therefore, in which it was conceived, the prince bound himself to "preserve to all the nobles, towns, commons, and subjects, whether lay or clerical, their ancient immunities and privileges, such as his ancestors, the Counts

^a Boxhorn op Reigersberg, deel. ii., bl. 495.

death of the Black Prince, the king caused Richard to be acknowledged as his successor by all his children, as well as the earls, prelates, and knights of England.—Froissart, vol. iv., chap. 43, p. 200; chap. 57, p. 279.

and Countesses of Holland*, had granted them, as well 1550 as all their customs, usages, rights, and prescriptions, either general or particular." In Zealand, he swore to "maintain all the customs and prescriptions which had been in use until the death of King Philip, and under the government of the emperor, Charles.†" The nobles and six great towns of Holland, on their side, took an oath of allegiance to Philip, binding themselves "to support his rights and dignity; to obey and assist his officers in the proper execution of their duty; to be true, faithful, and serviceable in defending his person and state, as they are in justice and reason bound to be." The prelates, nobles, and towns of Zealand, swore to obey the prince as true and faithful subjects ought to do, according to the rights and privileges of the land°. After Philip's acknowledgment, the emperor, with the consent of the states, proclaimed the Netherlands to be from henceforward permanently united under the government of one sovereign. It is supposed that his design was to consolidate all the provinces into a kingdom, but that he was obliged to abandon it, because the peculiar customs and privileges, to which the inhabitants were devotedly attached, rendered it impossible to establish in them any regular and uniform system of government^p.

The Queen of Hungary, who had requested her dismissal upon the occasion of Philip's coming, was

* Groot Plakaat., deel. iv., bl. 35. Boxhorn op Reigersberg, deel. ii., bl. 498, 499.

† Grotius Annal. Belg., lib. i., p. 8, duod.

* Thus expressly admitting the great Charter of Mary of Burgundy (1478).

† It does not appear what reason there was for this exclusion of the first years of the government of Margaret of Savoy.

1549 again confirmed in the government; but the emperor did not think it advisable to entrust to her alone the issuing of new and more harsh decrees against the heretics, since, according to his opinion, they had not hitherto been treated with sufficient severity, which, indeed, the disposition of the people, and the gentleness of their municipal governments, hardly permitted*. In the November of this year, he promulgated an edict, confirming all the former penal enactments against heretics, and ordaining that the estates of condemned heretics should be forfeited, notwithstanding all rights, customs, or privileges, to the contrary; he likewise commanded all the fugitive Jews from Portugal, whom fear of the inquisition had driven to take refuge in Holland, to quit the country, upon pain of forfeiture of life and property. This was only the step to still more bitter persecution, and to the introduction of the inquisition into the Netherlands, a tribunal formidable to every nation, but tending to the utter destruction of Holland, where the most entire toleration in religion, together with a large portion of civil liberty, is a matter of vital necessity for the happiness and security of the vast number of individuals of different nations, religions, and habits, whom her commerce draws to her shores^a.

A grand inquisitor of the Netherlands was now appointed by Pope Paul III., in the person of Ruard Tapper, of Enkhuyzen, who had obtained an ominous

^a Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek iii., bl. 157.

* Heretics were executed "not without deep commiseration among the burghers and even the greater part of the governments, who were so disinclined to this work, that they vexed people on account of their religious opinions as little as they could possibly help, and the edict was received with great dismay, not only by those who were likely to feel its effects, but by the magistrates themselves, who were much dissatisfied with this great and excessive tyranny." — Velius Hoorn, bl. 137, 146.

notoriety as having sat in judgment on the first heretic ever condemned to death in Holland; and lest he should not be sufficiently inclined to persecution, he was specially exhorted to acquit himself well of his duty. Not long after the edict above mentioned, the emperor published another, commanding all who filled public offices to assist the inquisitors in bringing suspected persons to justice. Any one who informed 1550 against a heretic was to have half his property if he were condemned; and he who gave notice of any conventicle should also have half the property of those found guilty of attending it, provided he himself had not been there, or could satisfactorily prove himself to be a Catholic^r.

Its publication was, however, flatly refused by the citizens of Antwerp, then the most flourishing commercial town of the Netherlands, or even of Europe*. The mere rumour that it was likely to be issued, had caused many substantial merchants to make preparations for quitting it; trade was entirely at a stand; the rents of houses fell; and the workmen were thrown out of employ. The principal burghers and merchants, therefore, supported by the council of Brabant, presented a strong petition and remonstrance, in writing, to the governess, setting forth, that, by their privileges, they were exempt not only from the inquisition, but from spiritual jurisdiction altogether. Mary, averse, from her natural disposition, to all religious persecution, repaired in person to the emperor's court at Augsburg, where she represented to him so forcibly the evils that must result from the establishment of

^r Sleidan, lib. xxii., p. 497, 498. Brandt's Hist. der Ref., bl. 159.

* De Thou says of the whole Christian world, "*Supra omnia orbis Christiani emporia magnitudinem excreverat.*"—Lib. vi., cap. 17, p. 229; likewise Sleidan, lib. xxii., p. 501.

1550 the inquisition at Antwerp, that at length she succeeded in persuading him to modify it in some degree with regard to foreign merchants. In the new edict published for that purpose, the name of inquisition, already odious in the Netherlands, was omitted, and that of spiritual judges given to the same persons. This pacified the discontents for a time, and the Antwerpers published the decree, though accompanied by a written protest, that it was in nowise to be understood as derogating from the privileges and customs of the town, which should be preserved entire^a.

The last war between the emperor and King of France had been the occasion of hostilities between the Netherlanders and the Scotch, the zealous friends and allies of the French king. They had now for some years done considerable injury to the commerce and fishery of Holland by their privateering, which they still continued, even after the conclusion of the peace of Crespi between the two monarchs. To put a stop to the repeated capture of Holland merchant ships, the emperor had in the last year proposed to the states to equip twenty-five men-of-war, and for this purpose induced them to consent to a duty of five-pence an awm upon Rhenish wines. But though the impost was strictly levied, the emperor forgot to apply the produce to the use for which it was intended, and no preparations were made until this year, when, as the Scots persisted in their aggressions, the court equipped eight of the twenty-five vessels promised, and for the expenses of these, a duty of a guilder upon every "last" of herrings* was demanded, which the Hol-

^a Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek iii., bl. 160—162. Sleidan, lib. xxii., p. 501.

* The "last" contains fourteen barrels.

landers found themselves obliged to grant, since the 1550 Zealanders had offered three, or even four, guilders a last, provided they were permitted to enjoy the exclusive liberty of fishing. The small number of the Dutch fleet prevented their effecting anything more than the capture of a few prizes, which they brought into the ports of Zealand; but peace having been concluded between France and England, the Scots became unwilling to carry on the war alone, and towards the end of the summer a truce was made between them and the Netherlanders, followed by a treaty of peace, to the effect that all injuries committed on both sides were to be buried in oblivion; piracies were forbidden, and compensation was to be given for the hostilities committed during the time of truce^t.

A commercial treaty was likewise concluded about the same time, between the Netherlanders and Henry II., successor of Francis I. on the throne of France. The king had some time before commanded that the discovery of contraband wares in Netherland vessels should be followed by the forfeiture of the whole cargo; and the emperor had thereupon issued a similar order against the ships of France. It was now agreed that no other than contraband and enemies' goods should be declared liable to forfeiture^u.

It was not until this period that the Netherland ecclesiastics began to take any part in the general council of the Church summoned by Pope Paul III. in 1545, which continued to sit at Trent till 1547, when the successes of the emperor against the Protestant princes of Germany created alarm in the breast of the

^t Aert van der Goes, op'tjaar 1550, bl. 41—45. Groot Plakaat., 4 deel., bl. 260.

^u Dumont Corps Dip., tom. iv., p. 3, pa. 3.

1550 pope, lest the vast increase of power he obtained by their subjugation should enable him to become sole arbiter of the decisions of an assembly held in the territories of the King of the Romans, his brother and subject. Upon the pretext, therefore, of an infectious disorder having made its appearance in Trent, Paul transferred the council from thence to Bologna, notwithstanding the vehement protestations of the emperor, who forbade the German and Spanish prelates to leave Trent. The bishops of the empire also, in obedience to his desire, addressed a letter to the pope on the subject, couched in strong and earnest terms of remonstrance. Nevertheless, such of the cardinals and prelates as had removed to Bologna, being entirely subservient to the holy see, refused to return to Trent; upon which Charles sent ambassadors, both to Bologna and to Rome, to protest against the translation of the council, as frivolous and unlawful.

Meanwhile, in order to heal the dissensions in religion, the emperor caused to be prepared his celebrated interim, with the purpose of reconciling the doctrines of the two churches. As it was framed by two catholic prelates, Julius Pflug, bishop of Narimberg, and Michael Sidonio, and one Protestant, John Agricola of Isleben, the catholic doctrines were, as may be supposed, but slightly modified. The interim met with the fate of all measures of the like nature, particularly when applied to religious matters; it was satisfactory to neither party; and although Charles obtained from the diet of Augsburg a decree to enforce its adoption, it was by no means so generally received as to obviate the necessity for another œcumenic council, whose decisions, from the infallibility with which he might profess to regard them as invested, he

† Sleidan, lib. xix., p. 425, 440, 447.

would be justified in carrying into effect, by any means, 1551 however violent. Soon after the accession of Julius III., therefore, he induced him to issue a bull, summoning the council to meet at Trent in the May of 1551^v. The emperor, besides the German prelates, among whom were the Archbishops of Metz, Treves, and Cologne, commissioned Anthony Perrenot, bishop of Arras, to select some of the best qualified of the Netherland ecclesiastics to support the emperor's interests, and to assist in reconciling the differences in religion, at the council of Trent. Viglius van Zuichem, president of the council, whom the bishop consulted on the subject, declared that he felt shame when he reflected how few capable persons were now to be found in the Netherlands, which formerly abounded with men of learning; and that he hardly knew where to find one who was fit to undertake the business of the court at Trent*. He nevertheless named Francis Sonoy, canon of Utrecht, with two others; and recommended that they should be accompanied by two doctors, a canonist of the university of Louvain, and some monks; and that of the former, one should be Ruard Tapper, the grand inquisitor^x.

^v Sleidan, lib. xx., p. 454—461; lib. xxii., p. 503.

^x Vide his Letter, in Dip. Miræi, tom. iii., p. 463—465.

* This accusation, a highly improbable one, against a country which so short a time before had boasted of an Erasmus and an Agricola, is contradicted by the testimony of Vargas, a Spanish prelate, not likely to form a partial judgment in favour of the Netherlanders: he says that "the doctors of Louvain are excellent men, and of great modesty, distinguished for their learning, and the purity of their morals, and such theologians as the council should have gone to the ends of the world to seek; their dean (Ruard Tapper) is no less remarkable for knowledge than dignity." Let. et Mém. de Vargas, p. 173, 188, 235, 236. The sweeping censure of the president would induce us to suppose that the most learned and able were either not sufficiently subservient to the views of the emperor, or were suspected of heretical opinions.

1551 The Protestants refused to attend the assembly, unless the safe conduct which the emperor had granted them in the most ample terms, were confirmed by the council, which the pope's legate, who dreaded their appearance there, took every means to prevent. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastics already assembled, to the number of about sixty, decided upon many important points of dispute respecting confession, penance, and extreme unction. Events, however, occurred in the next year, which on a sudden broke off their deliberations⁷.

The Prince Maurice of Saxony, nephew of the elector, although professing the reformed religion, had, from motives of vanity and self-interest, forsaken the cause of the confederates of Smalkalde; and either believing, or affecting to believe, the assertion of the emperor, that he had taken up arms in support of the laws and dignity of the empire, and not from religious causes, had been mainly instrumental in the war of 1546, to the ruin of his fellow Protestants. For his services in that war, the emperor had recompensed him with the dominions and electoral dignity of his uncle. Now, however, whether disgusted at the discovery of the insincerity of Charles's professions, or because wider schemes of ambition opened to his view (for it is difficult to decide which of these motives to ascribe to him,—perhaps both had a share in influencing his conduct), he began to concert measures with the remaining Protestant princes, to secure the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Germany, against the power of the emperor, and to obtain the release of the Landgrave of Hesse; such, at least, were the reasons

⁷ Lett. et Mém. de Vargas, p. 117, 128, 163, 254, 385, 401. Sleidan, lib. xxiii., p. 530.

for taking up arms, which he professed to them and to foreign powers^z.

His plans were formed with so much secrecy, and executed with such celerity, that before the emperor had time to prepare for his defence, he had possessed himself of some of the strongest places of the empire, and Charles with difficulty escaped being taken prisoner at Inspruck, where he was then residing, in order to be nearer to the Council at Trent. Maurice had likewise gained over Henry II. of France to an alliance with the Reformers, and the emperor, embarrassed at once in a war with that country and with his own subjects, was reduced to accept of the peace of Passau, on terms 1552 the most favourable to the Protestants; by it he engaged to allow entire liberty of religion throughout Germany, to deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from his imprisonment, and to admit the members of the Augsburg confession to the imperial council. The emperor had voluntarily released the Elector of Saxony before his flight from Inspruck, in order that he might embarrass Prince Maurice by claiming the restoration of the electorate. The prelates at the Council of Trent, on hearing of the advance of Maurice, took flight in different directions, and the council was not resumed until the year 1563, when its resolutions were attended with important and lasting effects to Holland^a.

The proceedings of Maurice in Germany had been anticipated by the seizure of the Netherland merchant vessels on the part of the French king in the year before, which led to a formal declaration of war be-

^z Sleidan, lib. xvii., p. 380—410. Lett. de l'Empéreur aux trois Electeurs Ecclésiastiques, in Lett. et Mém. de Vargas, p. 381 Thuanus, lib. viii. cap. 6 ; lib. ix., cap. 13.

^a Sleidan, lib. xxiv., p. 547, 550—556. Lett. et Mém. de Vargas, p. 183. Thuanus, lib. x., cap. 4, 5, 13.

1552 tween France and the emperor; but, as during the first campaign, nearly the whole force of both belligerents was concentrated in Italy, the events in the Netherlands were few and unimportant. Nearly at the same time that Maurice began hostilities against the emperor in Germany, Henry II., in pursuance of the terms of the treaty, sent a powerful army into Lorraine, under the constable Anne de Montmorency, who took possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

The king invaded Alsace in person; Haguenau and Weissemburg opened their gates to him. While in that province, he received intelligence of the pacification of Passau, which, although one of its articles was to the effect that the Protestant princes should renounce the alliance of France, did not prevent his marching into Luxemburg, where several strong places fell into his hands. On the side of the imperialists, Marten van Rossem made an irruption into Champagne and Picardy, where he cruelly devastated the country according to his usual custom.

The emperor, as soon as the peace of Passau left him at liberty to pursue the war against France without interruption, sent the Duke of Alva, at the head of the Spanish army and some troops he had drawn from Italy, assisted by Lamoral, count of Egmond, and the Lord of Bossen with a body of Netherland forces, to attempt the recovery of Metz, whither he himself repaired shortly after in person. The perpetual sallies, and the destructive fire kept up by the garrison, prevented his making any progress in the siege, which the rigour of the season forced him to raise in the January of the next year. The campaigns in Picardy and Italy were equally unpropitious to the imperial arms, while at sea the French succeeded in capturing a large and

rich fleet of Netherland merchant ships returning from 1552 Spain^b.

The states of Holland having voted a supply of 200,000 guilders for the support of the war, were anxious to find means of protecting the herring fishery, which had been almost stopped during the last autumn, from fear lest the "busses" should be captured by the French ships of war. Holland and Zealand were strongly inclined to exchange safe conducts with France, for the mutual security of this branch of trade; while Flanders and the governess thought it more advisable to provide a naval force sufficient to defend the boats from aggression. As she refused to make any agreement with the French king for the safe conduct, declaring plainly that she could not trust him, the maritime towns of Holland interested in the fishery were obliged, if they would not lose it altogether, to equip on their own account eight men-of-war. Delft, Rotterdam, and Enkhuyzen, provided two each, Schiedam, together with several smaller towns, the remaining two between them. In spite of their precautions, however, they lost fifty boats. The westward fleet fared better, for having put to sea under a strong convoy, they made a safe and profitable voyage to Spain. For the equipment of this convoy, an impost of two per cent. had been laid on all commodities carried to or from the west; which some of the deputies of the states considered an infraction of the privilege of exemption from toll that they had obtained from the emperor in 1531; others judged that the duty, being levied at the desire of the merchants, for the protection of their trade, and not applied to the profit of the emperor, could not be considered as a toll. They at

^b Thuanus, lib. x., cap. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 11, 12. Heut. Rer. Aust, lib. xiii., cap. 12, 14, 17. Meteren, fol. xii.

length agreed to present a petition to the governess that it might be abolished, and to press still more earnestly for its removal upon the cessation or abatement of the present war. It was remitted in 1554^c.

1553 The campaign was scarcely ended, when the emperor, finding himself in extreme want of funds, from the delay which had occurred in the arrival of specie from America, demanded another subsidy of the Netherlands: of Brabant 600,000 caroluses, and of the other provinces in proportion. The share of Holland was 300,000 guilders. The states, according to their custom, made difficulties about granting so large a sum; the nobles observing that the province had paid the emperor 700,000 guilders within the year. They endeavoured to obtain an abatement of 50,000 guilders, and to make several conditions, among which the principal were, the abolition of the two hundredth penny on exports; a free trade to the west; that the herring fishery should be placed under safe conduct; and that no office, except that of stadtholder, should be given to foreigners.

To the last of these requisitions the governess coldly replied, that she had given but few offices to foreigners, and those only to such as were better qualified to serve them than the natives who were candidates at the same time; the remainder she refused either to comply with, or even to transmit to the emperor; declaring that the consequences of his heavy displeasure would fall upon the states, unless they proceeded to the immediate and unconditional grant of the whole subsidy. Alarmed by her threats, the nobles, Delft, and Dordrecht, and finally the other four great towns, consented to the entire sum of 300,000 guilders, to be levied by the tax of a tenth on immoveable property,

^c Regist. van Adrian van der Goes, 1552, bl. 41—61.

and on the profits of the herring fishery^d. The custom 1553 of summoning the small towns on questions of supply, had gradually fallen into disuse. As the great towns only were sufficiently wealthy to raise loans for the service of the sovereign, or anticipate the payment of the subsidies already voted, the government had been in the habit of summoning them alone, whenever a measure of this kind was found necessary^e. Hence the transition to the entire neglect of the small towns upon all questions of supply was easy; in the year 1538 they had presented a remonstrance on this subject, declaring that they did not consider themselves bound by the votes of the great towns, and obtained from the stadtholder a promise, that they should always be summoned and consulted before the consent of the states to any subsidy was taken^f. This promise, however, was not adhered to; the small towns were seldom summoned after 1542, never after 1548, nor could they recover the privilege of being present, as of old, in the states, so long as Holland remained under the government of sovereigns whose interest it was to render the states more tractable, by diminishing the number of deputies, and narrowing as much as possible the basis of popular representation.

The exaction of the two hundredth penny on exports was slightly modified by a proclamation from the emperor, who, in order to obtain provisions for his camp, declared that all articles brought thither should be exempt from the duty. Having by this means secured an abundant supply of every necessary, he commanded the Count of Roueulx to undertake the siege of Terouanne in Artois. This ancient city being

^d Regist. van A. van der Goes, op'tjaar 1553, bl. 5—18.

^e Idem, bl. 48, 95, 140, 334, and passim.

^f Idem, op'tjaar 1538, bl. 290.

1553 taken by storm, was razed to the ground by order of the emperor, and has never since been rebuilt; Hesdin shortly after shared the same fate. A portion of the imperial army, under Lamoral, count of Egmond, having advanced as far as Amiens, a sharp engagement took place between them and the French, under the Count de Montmorenci, in which neither party was decidedly victorious[†].

While Charles was thus carrying the war into the boundaries of France, he was engaged in forming an alliance which proved a source of no small disquietude to Henry. On the death of Edward VI., Mary, the daughter of his aunt, Catherine of Arragon, had ascended the English throne; immediately after which event, he proposed to his son Philip a marriage with the new queen. Philip gave a ready consent, although Mary had before been contracted to his father^{*}, was now past thirty-eight, and totally destitute of personal attractions. The negotiations were carried on as covertly as possible, owing to the general unpopularity of the match with the English nation; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who negotiated on the part of the queen the secret and preliminary treaty, made use of this feeling, and the eagerness of Charles for the conclusion of the marriage, to obtain such conditions as he thought proper. Matters being put in train, Lamoral, count of Egmond, was sent at the head of
1554 a public and solemn embassy, to demand the hand of the queen, and in a few days the articles of the treaty were agreed upon. Philip was to be associated with the queen in the government of England, but the disposal of offices should rest solely with the latter; the

[†] Thuanus, lib. xii., cap. 6, 7, 8. Meteren, fol. xv.

^{*} Vid. part ii., chap. 5.

dowry of the queen, amounting to 60,000 pounds* (of 1554 forty groots) yearly, was to be levied, 40,000 on Spain, and 20,000 on the Netherlands; the first-born son of the marriage was to have, besides England, Burgundy and the Netherlands; Charles, the son of Philip by his former wife, inheriting only Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the states in Italy; in case of no male issue, the eldest daughter should succeed to England, Burgundy, and the Netherlands, provided she married a native of either, or a foreigner with the consent of Charles, her brother; but if she married a foreigner without such consent, then the right of succession to the latter states was to return to Charles, who should settle a portion on her out of the revenues of Spain and the Netherlands: if prince Charles died without issue, the eldest son of Philip and Mary, or, in default of sons, the eldest daughter, should inherit all his dominions; the ancient laws, rights, customs, and privileges of both nations, were to be preserved, and the public offices conferred only on the natives of each respectively^a.

The marriage concluded on this footing was even less acceptable, if possible, to the Netherlanders, than to the English; they beheld their future sovereign, whose character for bigotry and severity they had already begun to dread, united to a princess who, if report spoke true, closely resembled him in these qualities; in case of male issue, they foresaw that they

^a Thuanus, lib. xiii., cap. 3. Hent. Rer. Aust., lib. xiii., cap. 20. Rym, Foed., tom. xv., p. 377.

* £5000 sterling. Hume (vol. iv., p. 387) has put down the jointure of Mary at £60,000 sterling; but the sum specified in Rymer is 60,000 "ponds" of forty "groots," or halfpence. The "pond groot" was a coin common in the Netherlands, and is to be distinguished from the "pond vlaamseh," which was worth nearly ten shillings.

1554 would sink into a mere province of England; and in the event of a female succession, there was great probability that they would become once more the subjects of a foreign prince, a stranger to their laws and customs, the bitter fruits of which they had already fully experienced since the accession of the house of Burgundy.

The circumstances of this union, therefore, gave satisfaction to none except the merchants, who obtained on the occasion some important advantages. The privileges of the company of German and Netherland merchants in London, called the Stillyard, had been abolished in 1552, on a representation to the king by the English clothiers, that it monopolised the whole trade, to the prejudice of the natives*. Since that time, in spite of the repeated efforts of the governess to obtain the restoration of the company's privileges, it had only been allowed to trade under payment of a heavy duty both on exports and imports; but during the negotiations for the marriage, the Hanse towns sent ambassadors to solicit their restoration, which the queen granted, and likewise gave permission for the exportation of a certain sort of cloth that had hitherto been forbidden. In the next year she further favoured the Netherland commerce, by re-opening the wool-staple at Calais, which the King of France had induced Henry VIII. to close in the year 1530ⁱ.

The solemnization of the marriage was held at Winchester on the 25th of July, after which Philip remained during a whole year in England. During

ⁱ Rym. Fœd., tom. xv., p. 364, 413.

* They complained that in the year 1551 the company had exported 44,000 pieces of cloth, while all the English merchants together had not sold more than 1,100 pieces in foreign countries.

that time he became convinced that there could be no 1554 hope of an heir; when the principal advantages he expected to reap from the alliance being thus frustrated, and the English nation not affecting to conceal the dislike and contempt they entertained for him, he began to view them, and even his wife, notwithstanding her devoted attachment to him, with the utmost aversion.

The attention of Charles had been so engrossed by his favourite scheme, that he neglected in some degree the timely preparations necessary for the ensuing campaign. Henry II., who was himself not ready before June, forestalled the emperor by invading the Netherlands with three separate armies. The Prince de la Roche sur Yon, overran the open country of Artois, while the Duke of Nevers possessed himself of some strong places in the Luxemburg, and the Constable de Montmorenci, with the main body, marched into Hainault, where having taken Chimay, he laid siege to Marienburg, a fort which the governess had strengthened with immense labour and expense, and named after herself. It surrendered before the end of a month, and Bouvines, besieged by Henry in person, was carried by assault a few days after; Dinant also capitulated. Having mastered Bavoï and Binche in Hainault, the king marched into Artois, where he sat down before Renti. At length the imperial forces were brought into a state of preparation, and under the command of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, the emperor himself being present in the camp, advanced to meet the French under the walls of Renti. The two armies came to a general engagement, in which the victory was claimed by the latter, but declared by the Netherlanders to be doubtful. It most probably was so, since the French suffered so great loss, that

1554 they were obliged to raise the siege, and retire into Picardy¹.

During this summer hostilities were carried on at sea between the French and Netherlanders with more than usual energy. Two and twenty vessels of war, returning from Spain to the Netherlands laden with merchandise, fell in with nineteen large and six smaller French ships, commanded by Espineville d'Harfleur, near the English coast at Dover. The Netherlanders, anxious to save their wares, sought to avoid the French, who were advancing for the purpose of boarding them; but though they kept up a heavy fire from a distance, they could not prevent the approach of the enemies' vessels, fifteen of which closed with the same number of Netherlanders. The fight was continued with great fierceness from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon, when the French proposed a truce, which their opponents, sanguine of the event, refused. At this time, the combustibles thrown by the Netherlanders, set fire to one of the enemy's vessels; the flames were rapidly communicated to five others, and from them to the Netherland ships; the crews, throwing themselves into the sea, swam to the nearest vessels that had escaped the conflagration, whether friend or enemy. This circumstance secured the victory to the French in an unlooked for manner. The Netherlanders rescued so great a number of their enemies, that the latter found themselves sufficiently strong to surprise and capture the crews of five of the vessels into which they had been taken, and bring them into the port of Dieppe. Besides these, the Netherlanders had six ships burnt; of the French the same number were burnt, and one sunk. The French writers say that

¹ Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiii., cap. 21. Meteren, fol. 15. Thuanus, lib. xiii., cap. 10.

1000 of the Netherlanders were killed, and 400 of 1534 their own countrymen; while the Netherlanders, though without much appearance of probability, place the larger number to the account of their opponents. Among the slain was the French admiral, Espineville^k.

To supply the expenses of this war, the states granted the sum of 200,000 guilders, of which 100,000 was raised by the sale of life annuities at sixteen and two-thirds per cent., and redeemable annuities at eight and a quarter per cent. They obtained in return for this subsidy, the abolition of the two hundredth penny on exports, and a bonus of 10,000 guilders for the protection of the fisheries. A second demand of 200,000 guilders brought forward by the court, was more unwillingly complied with; the nobles remonstrated, that the country was already burdened with 47,000 guilders of annuities, the principal amounting to 480,000, and several of the towns objected to be taxed according to the assessments, preferring rather to pay the tenth penny, while others insisted upon the ordinary methods of assessment, and the sale of annuities. This difference of opinion was occasioned by the great change which had taken place in the relative condition of the towns since the valuation had been made in the year 1518. Some had considerably increased in wealth and population, and consequently their share in the assessment no longer bore a due proportion to that of those towns which remained stationary. In the former situation were Dordrecht and Amsterdam, which were always desirous of being taxed by the assessment (*schildtalen*), while Leyden and Gouda, whose real property was of less value than that of the former towns, found their advantage in

^k Thuanus, lib. xvi., cap. 9. Velius Hoorn, bl. 147, 148. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiii., cap. 23.

1554 paying the tenth penny. The perpetual demands for subsidies, which, to avoid tediousness, have only been noticed when accompanied by an attempt on the part of the Netherlanders to secure their privileges in return, or by some other remarkable circumstance, afford strong evidence of the increase of wealth in the Netherlands. Notwithstanding that the unceasing wars in which they were involved, sometimes entirely prevented their fisheries, and greatly embarrassed their commerce, the merchants contrived, by means of safe conducts and various other expedients, to carry on an advantageous traffic, even in the enemy's states; as an instance of which, may be cited one Melchior Schetz, who in this year had procured from France 14,000 bales of woad, although a contraband article. The great increase of trade, and consequently of wealth and population, occasioned an augmented consumption of wine, beer, and other articles of excise; and this tax proved often so productive, that while the states incurred new debts to furnish the sums paid to the court, they were in a condition to redeem a large portion of the old. They had done so to some extent immediately after the grant of 300,000 guilders in the last year; but these transactions they always industriously kept concealed from the court, and disguised, under heavy complaints of increasing poverty, lest they might give a suspicion of how much more taxes they were able to bear. Their precautions were not, however, always successful, and the discovery was sure to be followed by a fresh petition, or "proposition," as the courtiers chose rather to call it; the old term of petition having fallen into bad odour, as expressive of too much dependence on the part of the sovereign, and too much power in the states to withhold it. It was become so customary for the states to receive all

petitions with murmurs, that the court manifested 1554 little disquietude on that head, and indeed would have been rather astonished had they been suffered to pass in silence¹. A little grumbling apart, however, the people may be considered to have given their sovereign a liberal and generous support throughout the whole of the reign of Charles. Unfortunately, the sovereign did not return it by a just sense of what was due to the people. The privilege “*de non evocando*” was now perpetually violated, and the persevering endeavours of the states to put a stop to this abuse were of no avail. The government insisted that accusations of treason were to be tried, not in the constitutional manner by the supreme court of Holland, but before a special tribunal appointed by the emperor; and we have seen sufficient proofs in the history of our own country, how widely the law of treason might be interpreted. In Holland it was held, not only to include all manner of crimes against the emperor, but also against God, more especially heresy; and in consequence of this unwarrantable wresting of the meaning of terms, a cruel persecution was carried on by the court against the followers of the new doctrines; many pious and learned men, who would have been protected in their own country, being dragged before a foreign tribunal, and condemned to death. Among the most lamented was Engel Merula, an aged and beloved pastor of Heenvliet, who, after being detained two years in the prison of Louvain, was condemned to the flames at Mons. Happily, he died as he was uttering his last prayer before the stake, and thus escaped the cruelty of his persecutors^m.

¹ Regist. van Adrian van der Goes, 1554, bl. 24—36.

^m Brandt's Hist. der Ref., deel. i., bl. 212. Aert van der Goes, bl. 267. Adrian van der Goes, op'tjaar 1544, bl. 7; 1545, bl. 18, 51; jaar 1546, bl. 9; 1554, bl. 36.

1554 Not content with trampling the privileges of the people under foot, the court made strenuous efforts to obtain possession of the ancient charters by which they had been confirmed. Until within a few years of this time, the principal of these documents were most unaccountably not in the possession of the states, but scattered about in the different towns; the very important one "*de non evocando*" for instance, was kept by the government of Delft; some were in the custody of the advocate; others in the registry of the court of Holland; while there were some remaining even in the muniment chamber of the emperor in Brabant. The states in the year 1545 had commanded the advocate of Holland, and the pensionaries of Delft and Leyden, to search for, and collect all the charters of privilege throughout the county, and had placed them in the Dominican monastery at the Hague. On one occasion William Snoekaart, a commissioner sent by the emperor for the ostensible purpose of examining the charters, endeavoured to persuade the prior of the monastery to open for him the chest which contained them; but not being able to prevail with him to do so, he commanded him from the emperor to keep the apartment constantly closed, and to let no one enter, threatening that himself and the whole cloister should feel the consequences of the sovereign's displeasure if he disobeyed. The injunction was but little heeded; and some of the towns having been afterwards commanded to deliver their charters into the hands of the procuror-general, the states passed an unanimous resolution, that they would never entrust the court with the original charters of the country, but, when occasion required, attested copies of them only should be given; and ordered the advocate of Holland to see that they

were carefully preserved in a strong chest with six 1555 locks^a.

The war with France, which had now continued for some years, had so exhausted the resources of both the belligerent powers, that hostilities were but slackly carried on during this campaign; and the plague breaking out in the emperor's camp, obliged him to retire early into winter quarters. Among the victims to the disease perished the celebrated Martin van Rossem, who, since the surrender of Guelderland by the Duke of Juliers, had constantly remained in the service of the emperor^o.

The subsidies demanded of the states were just as heavy as if the war had been pursued with the greatest vigour. Two extraordinary petitions were proposed, one payable in March of 200,000 guilders, and another of the same amount in September. The first was readily granted, but no small difficulty was found in pleasing the deputies as to the mode of levying the latter. Hearth money, they said, pressed too heavily on the poorer classes: a land tax could not be laid on by reason of the bad crops, and the small quantity of turf which had been cut during the last wet summer; while the cessation of trade, particularly of weaving, the dearness of provisions, and the losses sustained by the herring fishery, rendered the payment of a house assessment impossible. They concluded with an entreaty to be spared further petitions in "this miserable year;" but the whole subsidy was insisted on, and they gained nothing by their debates but a delay of three months in its delivery. The nobles and deputies of the towns at this time judged it expedient to put the im-

^a Regist. van Adrian van der Goea, op'tjaar 1545, bl. 35; 1546, bl. 5; 1548, bl. 3, 7, 22.

^o Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiii., cap. 23.

1555 posts in general upon a new and uniform footing. They had hitherto been received by one or more collectors in each town, in whose accounts many irregularities occurred: the duties on wine and beer, for instance, had, during the past year, yielded no more than 20,000 ponds (of forty groots). The states considered, therefore, that the taxes would be much more accurately levied, and at a smaller expense to the county if they were publicly let out to farm. From henceforward this method was universally adopted, and followed until so late a period as 1748^p.

In the autumn of this year the world was astonished by the declaration of the emperor's intention to resign all his vast dominions, and spend the remainder of his days in a cloister. Historians have bestowed infinite pains in searching for the motives of this apparently extraordinary resolution; and yet, perhaps, it is rather from the rarity than the improbability of such an act that it excites our surprise. With respect to Charles especially, it is not difficult to suppose that, in a helpless condition of body, (from unceasing attacks of the gout,) and with a mind enfeebled by long disease, embarrassed at once by a war with France, by exhausted finances, and by the increasing power of the Protestants in Germany, he should be desirous that the sceptre dropping from his now relaxed and nerveless hand should be held with a firm and vigorous grasp. Added to all the weighty political reasons which are generally supposed to influence him, may have been one more simple and natural. He had, very many years before, been struck with the situation of the monastery of St. Justus, near Placentia in Spain, and it is not impossible that the image of repose presented by the peaceful

^p Regist. van Adrian van der Goes, op'tjaar 1555, bl. 39—43; 1556, bl. 12.

beauty of that retreat may have often recurred to his 1555 mind in after years of turmoil and anxiety; and, joined to that love of particular places, which in some minds amounts almost to a passion, may have produced a longing desire to return there once more, as to a haven of rest in his latter days. It is certain that as early as the year 1542, long before the existence of any of the causes usually adduced for his abdication, he had declared to Don Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, his intention to abandon the world as soon as his son Philip should be fit to govern^a.

The rumour of his intention excited no small dismay in the Netherlands, where men dreaded the resignation of the governess, to whose rule they had, in the course of five and twenty years become accustomed, and the accession of a stranger, ignorant alike of their language, habits, and constitution. To such an extent was this feeling carried in Holland, that the states commanded the deputies whom they sent to the assembly of the states general at Brussels to keep back their full powers until those of the other provinces had been produced, so that they might be able to support any one of them who appeared inclined to withhold their consent to the emperor's abdication^r.

On the 25th* of October, the day appointed for the ceremony, the knights of the Golden Fleece, and the deputies of all the states of the Netherlands assembled at Brussels. The governess Mary, queen dowager of

^a Strada de Bello Belg., lib. i., p. 12, 13.

^r Regist. van Ad. van der Goes, op'tjaar 1555, bl. 51.

* The surrender was made on the 25th, but the oaths to the new sovereign were not taken by the states of the several provinces until the 26th and following days, which may account for the discrepancy of authors as to the precise time of the resignation; some dating it from the day of the surrender, others from that of taking the oaths. Regist. van Adrian van der Goes op'tjaar 1555, bl. 54, 55.

1555 Hungary, Mary, daughter of the emperor, and Maximilian, his nephew, were likewise present on this solemn occasion. Philibert of Brussels, a member of the council of state of the Netherlands, having opened the business of the day, by declaring the purpose for which they were assembled, and the reasons which had prompted the emperor to adopt this resolution, the emperor rose, supported on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, and holding a paper to assist his memory, took a review of his past life; of the campaigns he had conducted, the voyages he had undertaken, and the labours and fatigues he had endured for the service of his subjects; for the sake of whose welfare, he said, he now substituted a brave and active prince in the place of a feeble old man, sinking fast into the grave. After the conclusion of his address to the states, he exhorted his son to repay the debt of gratitude he owed him for thus surrendering of his own free will so rich an empire, and which he himself had greatly augmented, by testifying so much the more tenderness and care towards his subjects, and to justify the confidence he had this day shown in him, by his zeal for the laws, rights, and privileges of the people, and for the maintenance of the Catholic faith. Philip, bending on one knee, first asked and received his father's blessing: then turning towards the states, besought them, on account of his inability to express himself in the French language, to permit the Bishop of Arras to address them in his name. The bishop accordingly, in an eloquent discourse, expatiated upon the king's gratitude to his father and affection for his subjects. In conclusion, the Governess Mary, resigning the administration of the Netherlands which she had now held for twenty-five years, took leave of the states in a speech replete with modesty and good feeling. She

had often, she said, during the long course of her 1555 government, besought her brother to take off her shoulders a burden so unsuited to her feeble sex and inferior understanding; but that he had sought to provide a remedy for her defects, by placing around her men of sound judgment, and well skilled in public affairs. Her faults were to be attributed to the weakness of her nature, not to the perversion of her will: but had her ability equalled her love towards her people, she should have amply satisfied the emperor, and the Netherlands would have been better governed than any other nation of the earth; the little good she had been permitted to do was to be attributed to the able and wise men who had assisted her. She finished by exhorting them to peace and unanimity, and to obedience towards God, the Church, and their prince; declaring that, to the end of her life, she should be always ready to devote herself to the advantage of the Netherlands, either generally or individually. Her address was answered by Jacob van der Maas, pensionary of Amsterdam, on the part of the states^s.

On the day after the emperor's resignation the mutual oaths were taken by Philip and the states of Holland; the former swore to maintain all the privileges which they now enjoyed, including those granted or confirmed at his installation as heir in 1549. He afterwards renewed the promise made by Charles in the month of May preceding, that no office in Holland, except that of stadtholder, should be given to foreigners or to Netherlands of those provinces in which Hollanders were excluded from offices. In the January of the next year the emperor resigned the crown of Spain 1556 to his son, reserving only an annuity of 100,000 crowns, and on the 7th of September following, having

^s Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiv., cap. 1, 2, 3.

1556 proceeded to Zealand to join the fleet destined to carry him to Spain, he surrendered the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand. The Prince of Orange was commissioned to bear the crown and sceptre to the King of the Romans, an office which he executed with extreme reluctance^t. Before his departure, Charles once more exhorted his son to maintain the Catholic religion in its purity, and earnestly besought him not to allow the Netherlands to be oppressed by foreigners, if he would not plunge the country into all the miseries of a civil war. He set sail on the 15th of September from Zeeburg, or Rammekens in Zealand, accompanied by his sisters Mary, and Eleanor, queen-dowager of France, and after a short and prosperous voyage landed at Laredó in Biscay. Thence he proceeded to Burgos, where he was delayed for some time by want of money, and took up his final abode in the cloister of St. Just, near Piacenza. In this retreat he spent his time chiefly in prayer, reading, and religious exercises, passing his hours of recreation in making watches and other mechanical works, in planting, and riding. In this manner he lived about two years, when a fever carried him to the grave on the 21st of August, 1558. His death was followed by that of his sister Mary, the late governess, three weeks after, at Genoa, on her way to the Netherlands^u.

The emperor had, for a quarter of a century, borne so little personal share in the government of the Netherlands, that his abdication was to them of little more importance than that it entailed the resignation of the Governess Mary. When he did mingle in their affairs it

^t Regist^r van Adrian van der Goes, bl. 54, 55. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiv., cap. 6. Bor. Antthen. Stukken, deel ii., bl. 71.

^u Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xiv., cap. 6. Strada de Bello Belgico, dec. i., lib. i., p. 7.

was, in general, not greatly to their advantage; his severe 1556 edicts against the Reformers were no less repugnant to the tolerant spirit of the people than his perpetual wars were to their industrious and frugal habits; on a few occasions he did, indeed, remedy some grievances peculiarly obnoxious, and restore some privileges on which the popular mind was firmly bent; but this was done rarely and unwillingly, and only, in return for liberty, to extort enormous subsidies. By the addition, however, of Utrecht, Friezland, and Guelderland, during his reign, the Netherlands increased much in strength and consideration.

The governess, Mary, to whom he entrusted the care of this part of his dominions, during so long a period, was a princess of considerable address, talent, and spirit. She wanted neither judgment to discern, nor inclination to protect, the commercial interests of the people she governed, though she sometimes lost sight of them in her eagerness to fill her own and the emperor's coffers. An enemy to religious persecution, she never heartily concurred in carrying the penal edicts into effect. We have seen that, by her influence, the emperor was induced to mitigate the rigour of the inquisition at Antwerp, and she manifested, at all times, so much tolerance towards the Reformers, that she was accused by Pope Paul III., to the emperor, of favouring, and even holding a secret understanding with them^v. On the other hand, she was inclined to strain the sovereign prerogative far beyond its utmost limits, and to treat the privileges of the people with levity and indifference. Yet the comparison of her government with the misrule, tyranny, and sufferings of after years, caused the Netherlands to look back to her memory with regret and affection.

^v Brandt's Hist. der Ref., book iii., bl. 61.

1556 Before we enter upon the scene of tumult, bloodshed, and sorrow, prepared for the pen of the historian, it may not be uninteresting to bestow a glance on the Netherlanders, as they are depicted by a diligent and enlightened foreigner (Louis Guicciardini), resident for many years among them, whose observations were collected about this time, and published before the commencement of the civil war. From him we learn, that Holland, within a circumference of sixty leagues, contained twenty-nine strong-walled cities, numerous smaller ones, and 400 villages, under which denomination the Hague is included. "This little corner of the earth," he says, "abounds with people, with riches and virtue, and everything that the heart of man can desire. Not the most minute portion of the land is without its production; even the sand hills afford food and shelter to vast quantities of rabbits, esteemed for their delicate flavour; and on every creek of the sea are to be found incredible numbers of water-fowl and their eggs, both of which form a valuable article of export to the Belgic provinces^w." The inhabitants are described as brave, active, and industrious; devoted to freedom, but faithful and obedient subjects; not prone either to anger, insolence, or envy; humane, benevolent, and affable; lively and facetious, but sometimes rather licentious in their jests; greatly addicted to feasting and drunkenness^{*}; upright and sincere, but greedy of

^w Guicciardini Belg. Des., tom. ii., p. 95.

^{*} Before the end of this century, they infected the English, unhappily, with the same degrading vice, and the consequences of their pernicious example are felt perhaps even to the present time. Camden, in his History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, tells us, that "the English who, of all the northern nations, had been the moderatest drinkers, and most commended for their sobriety, learned in the Netherland wars first to drown themselves with immoderate drinking, and by drinking

gain; curious after novelty, and excessively credulous; 1556 rather given to conceit and loquacity; unmindful of benefits, but equally forgetful of injuries, and remarkably placable. Fond of learning and the arts, they could boast of a great number of learned and scientific men among them, and several authors of celebrity; most of the people were acquainted with the rudiments of grammar, and even the peasants were able to read and write well. Many of the nobles living a retired life, applied themselves wholly to literature; the rest of the inhabitants being chiefly occupied in merchandise, tillage, navigation, and fishing^x. The women, gifted with extraordinary beauty of shape and countenance, were remarkable for their chastity and purity, but in no degree timid, shy, or reserved; they were accustomed to enjoy a great share of liberty, and to walk or travel alone, in confidence and security; they mingled in all the active business of life, such as buying and selling, so much so, that the men usually left the whole management of their property and affairs to their wives, which, as the author observes, with more frankness than gallantry, "must increase their natural love of domineering and grumbling, and, there can be no doubt, makes them imperious and capricious." The dress of both sexes was commodious and elegant; the abundance, beauty, and cleanliness of their furniture, the quantity of silver* and brass, of tapestry, paintings, and fine linen, was such as could not be met with in any other country of the world. Guicciardini informs

* Guicciardini Belg. Des., tom. i., p. 57, 58; tom. ii., p. 146. Erasmus ad Adagium "Auris Batava."

others' healths to impair their own. And ever since the vice of drunkenness hath so diffused itself over the whole nation, that in our days, first it was fain to be restrained by severe laws."—Book iii., p. 263.

* The table service of the wealthy burghers sometimes consisted entirely of silver.—Velius Hoorn, bl. ii., p. 142.

1556 us further, that the purveyors of the emperor, Charles V., who had opportunities of minute observation in nearly every nation of Europe, told him, that none could be compared with Holland for the excellence of its private houses, inns, warehouses, and shops; for the size and construction of its vessels; and for the skill of the people in the cultivation of their arable and meadow lands⁷.

Among the many virtues which distinguished the Netherlanders, was a judicious and humane care of their poor, which would seem to belong to a more advanced state of civilization than even that which they then enjoyed. Hospitals, provided with every necessary and comfort, were always open to the sick and aged. Besides these, were establishments ("provenhuysen,") in which old persons, by payment of a certain sum, secured for themselves lodging and subsistence during the remainder of their lives. Persons of wealth and respectability were appointed in each town, whose office was biennial, to receive alms in the churches and principal places of resort, and to administer, according to their discretion, the funds thus collected, added to a small yearly census on the population, and the bequests of the charitable. Under their direction, the poor, not only in the hospitals and eleemosynary institutions, but also at their own houses, were so abundantly supplied, that they were under no necessity to beg, which they were forbidden to do, except during stated hours on saints' days or holydays. The children of such as were too poor to support them, were brought up until a certain age at the public expense, under the inspection of the burgomasters, who bound them apprentices to some trade or manufac-

⁷ Guicciard. Belg. Des., tom. i., p. 58, 59; tom. ii., p. 145, 146. Lett. of Aloysius Marlianus, quoted in Boxborn's *Theatrum Urb. Holl.*, p. 49.

ture, and they seldom failed to reward the care thus 1556 taken of them by their country, by becoming worthy and industrious members of society. In times of scarcity, the governments of the towns gave a loaf of bread, generally of about five pounds' weight, weekly, to every one who needed it, whether native or foreigner. Except on such occasions, indeed, the poor requiring alms were principally confined to the sick, maimed, and aged, since the varied and extensive demands for labour, and the industrious and careful habits of the working classes, enabled them generally to support themselves in plenty and independence².

Such were the useful and inoffensive people whom oppression goaded to frenzy; such the happy land, whose sons were driven by persecution in thousands from her shores.

² Guicciardini, Belg. Des., tom. i., p. 179. Boxborn, Theat. Urb. Hol., p. 49.

CHAPTER VII.

Assemblies of the States. Truce with France. Renewal of the War. Battle of St. Quentin. Reduction of Calais by the Duke of Guise. Battle of Gravelingues. Peace. Philip solicits the erection of new Bishopricks from the Pope. Unpopularity of the Measure. Other causes of Dissatisfaction among the Netherlanders. Philip's intended departure for Spain. Appointment of Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as Governess of the Netherlands. Philip sets sail from Flushing. Council of State. Authority possessed by the Cardinal of Granvelle. Discontents of the Nobles and People. Granvelle retires. Affairs conducted by the Prince of Orange and his Adherents. Evils of their Administration. Egmond's Embassy to Spain. Decrees of the Council of Trent enforced. Inquisition and penal Edicts. Ferment in the Netherlands. Confederacy of the Nobles. The "Gueux." Scheme for moderating the penal Edicts. Embassy of Bergen and Montigny to Spain. Public Preachings of the Reformers. Iconoclasts. Effect of their Outrages on the Mind of the Governess, and of the King. Margaret temporizes. Intercepted Letters to her. Meeting of the discontented Nobles. Their difference of Opinion. Margaret makes use of it to dissolve the Confederacy. Her Success. Renewal of Severities against the Reformers. Margaret takes up Arms. Siege of Valenciennes. Decline of the popular Party. Division between Orange and Egmond. Defeat of the confederate Troops at Oosterwel. Surrender of Valenciennes. Rumour of the Duke of Alva's March into the Netherlands. Abolition of the Reformed Worship. Flight of the Prince of Orange. Alva embarks from Spain. Death of the Marquis of Bergen. General Desertion of the Netherlands.

1555 **WHATEVER** forboding suspicions the Dutch might have entertained of the ultimate designs of their young sovereign—whatever secret mistrust of the rectitude of his principles of government, they allowed none of these feelings to appear. An assembly of the states being held soon after his accession, by Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, whom he had appointed Governor-general of the Netherlands, the demand of

200,000 guilders, which in the early part of the year had been met with so many complaints of poverty and distress, was renewed; and although the same difficulties continued unabated, and that it appeared necessary in order to raise the required sum, to impose a duty upon nearly every article of raw produce exported from Holland, the deputies readily consented to the whole sum asked of them^a.

A fresh demand made on the part of the king in the next year, first aroused the spirit of opposition against him. It was proposed to the states, that a 1556 hundredth should be paid on immoveable property, and a fiftieth of merchants' profits. The deputies of the states of Holland, having ascertained that those of Flanders and Brabant had determined to resist the imposition of a similar tax, declared that it would be impossible to carry it into effect in Holland, as well on account of the expense of collection, as the probability there was that men would take false oaths as to the amount of their incomes, and the oppression it would cause to the poorer classes. Finding them obstinate in their refusal, the king agreed to accept a petition of 300,000 guilders in lieu of the hundredth and fiftieth^b.

There appeared the less occasion for these extraordinary burdens, as a truce with the King of France was concluded in the beginning of this year, under the mediation of Cardinal Pole, ambassador from England to that court. It was again broken, however, at the end of a few months, by the interference of Pope Paul IV., who, aggrieved that Henry should have treated without making him a party to the negotiations,

^a Adrian van der Goes, *Regist. op'tjaar 1555*, bl. 59—87. From the list of articles to be taxed, it appears that Holland was in the habit of exporting turf, butter, cheese, horses, kine, salt, fresh and dried fish, rabbits, fowl, and crayons. *Idem*, 61, 62.

^b Adrian van der Goes, 1556, bl. 8—11, 23—30.

and yet not venturing openly to avow his discontent, sent the Cardinal Caraffa as his legate to France, for the purpose of effecting its rupture. By flattering Henry with the present of the consecrated sword, as Defender of the Catholic Church, and by exciting his fears lest Spain, now that she was secure on the side of France, should employ the whole force of her arms in the conquest of Italy, the cardinal succeeded in persuading him to violate his engagements; and accordingly, without any previous declaration of war, the
 1557 king sent the Duke of Guise with a powerful army into Piedmont, while hostilities were commenced in the Netherlands by an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Douay^c.

Philip was no sooner aware of the designs of France, than he repaired to England, where he prevailed upon the queen, over whose actions her fondness for his person gave him entire control, to declare war against Henry. He likewise assembled in the Netherlands a body of 35,000 foot and 12,000 horse, whom he placed under the command of Emmanuel of Savoy, governor-general of the Netherlands; and taking advantage of the circumstance, that France, by the expedition to Italy, was left destitute of the greater portion of her veteran troops, he ordered his general to carry the war into the enemy's boundary, by laying siege to St. Quentin, where his army was joined by 3000 English, under the Count of Pembroke, and the Lords Clinton and Grey. The town being slenderly garrisoned, Coligny, admiral of France, succeeded with some difficulty in effecting an entry with a small reinforcement of troops, which enabled it to sustain the siege, until the Constable Montmorenci could advance to its relief at the head of fifteen regiments of French and twenty-

^c Thuanus, lib. xvii., cap. 4, 7 ; lib. xviii., cap. 1, 2.

two of German infantry. Montmorenci, on his ap- 1557
 proach, found that the Netherland commander had
 drawn out his forces before the walls of St. Quentin, Aug.
 in readiness to give him battle, 2000 of his troops 10.
 having taken their post at a mill somewhat in advance
 of the main army. The engagement commencing
 with these, they were driven back with considerable
 slaughter, when Lamoral, count of Egmond, at the
 head of the Netherland horse, made a sudden attack
 on the enemy's flank, which caused them to waver;
 perceiving this, the Counts of Mansfeldt, Hoogstradt,
 and Lalain assaulted them in front with such impe-
 tuosity, that their ranks were speedily broken: the
 flight, begun by the servants of the camp, soon became
 universal among the cavalry; the infantry, however,
 continued the fight during nearly four hours longer,
 but were at length nearly all disabled: 2500 of the
 French were killed, among whom were John of Bour-
 bon, brother of the Prince of Condé, and several others
 of the most illustrious nobility; and the whole of the
 artillery and baggage, together with an immense num-
 ber of prisoners taken^d.

Amazement and consternation spread through the
 French court at the news of this fatal defeat. An
 immediate advance upon Paris was regarded as its
 inevitable consequence, and Henry began to make
 hasty preparations for the expected siege; but happily
 for France, and perhaps, in the result, for himself also,
 Philip was satisfied to follow up his victory by the
 capture of St. Quentin, Ham, and Chastelet, which
 gave the king time to recal the Duke of Guise, with
 2000 choice troops, from Italy. After his departure,
 Pope Paul, deserting the ally who had involved himself
 in the war solely at his instigation, concluded a sepa-

^d Thuanus, lib. xix., cap. 9, 10.

1557 rate peace with Philip, of which the renunciation of the alliance with Henry was made the principal condition.

Guise, on his return to France, was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the room of Montmorenci, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quentin, and to the remnant of the army placed under his command were added besides a new levy of 4000 Swiss, a number of German mercenaries, whose term of service with the King of Spain having expired, went over to the French camp.

Despairing of being able to recover the places lately captured, which had been carefully fortified and provisioned under the personal inspection of Philip, Guise Jan. 8, 1558 marched toward Calais, which he mastered after a siege of only seven days* Guines, also, another town possessed by the English, capitulated upon the firing of a few shots. Having restored courage to the French soldiers by these successes, he invaded the duchy of Luxemburg, and took possession of Thionville†.

Meanwhile, the Sieur de Thermes, whom he had left in command of Calais, marched with a force of about 14,000 strong into Flanders, and passing by Gravelingues, surprised and plundered Dunkirk. Here he halted, expecting to be joined by the main army for the purpose of pursuing the conquest of Flanders. Guise, however, remaining unaccountably inactive in Luxemburg, during a period of seventeen days after the capture of Thionville, gave the Count of Egmond time to collect troops out of the different garrisons to

* Thuanus, lib. xix., cap. 11, 13. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xv., cap. 3.

† Thuanus, lib. xix., cap. 13, 14 ; lib. xx., cap. 2, 12.

* It is said that a great number of persons within the walls, being corrupted by French gold, he had been informed that but slight resistance would be offered. Pont. Heut. Rer. Aust., lib. xv., cap. 4.

the number of 12,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry. 1558
With these he advanced by rapid marches towards Dunkirk, when Thermes retreated to Gravelingues, intending to return if possible to Calais. Being overtaken by Egmond, who had left his artillery behind, that the celerity of his movements might not be impeded, he perceived that no resource was left to him, but to come to a regular engagement. He therefore took up an advantageous position near Gravelingues, with the river Aa on his right, and the sea in his rear; and placing the baggage and waggons on his left, with the artillery in front, awaited the attack of Egmond's troops. The van of the French army was occupied by some regiments of Gascons, who steadily withstood the assault of the Netherlanders, and even threw them into some embarrassment by the fire of the artillery, the general's horse being killed under him. Undaunted at this reception, and confident in his somewhat superior numbers, Egmond commanded his soldiers to close with the enemy, himself leading the charge. They fought hand to hand for several hours—the Netherlanders animated by the example and exhortations of their leader; the French conscious that in victory lay their only hope of safety—and the issue of the contest appeared still doubtful, when ten English vessels, having by a mere chance entered the river Aa, attacked the latter on the right flank, where they deemed themselves secure. The cavalry was instantly thrown into utter confusion, which soon extended itself to the infantry; 1500 were slain; numbers perished in their flight by the hands of the peasants, or were drowned in the Aa; about 3000 were made prisoners, and 200 taken by the English, and carried home as trophies of the victory^g.

^g Thuanus, lib. xx., cap. 14.

1558 Upon intelligence of this disaster, Guise repaired in all haste to Pierrepont, a town situated on the confines of Picardy and Champagne, convenient alike for collecting his forces, and for holding himself prepared to meet the attack of the enemy, in whatever direction it might be made. The King of France afterwards taking the command of the army in person, Philip likewise placed himself at the head of his troops, and the two armies encamped within a short distance of each other on the banks of the river Auth. Both being strongly entrenched, neither ventured to risk an assault on the enemy's camp, and the presence of these two powerful monarchs in the field, was signalized by nothing further than a few unimportant skirmishes. Their vicinity, however, gave occasion to mutual overtures for an accommodation^b.

The negociations, opened at Sercamp by the ambassadors of France, Spain, and England*, were delayed for some time, first by the determination of the English to insist upon the restoration of Calais as an indispensable condition, and afterwards by the death of their queen, Mary. Her successor, Elizabeth, having made
1559 a separate treaty with France, whereby Calais was to remain in the hands of the king for eight years, after which he was either to restore it, or pay England 500,000 crowns, no further obstacle remained to a peace between the Kings of France and Spain, which was therefore concluded on the 3rd of April. It was agreed, that both parties should restore all the con-

^b Thuanus, lib. xx., cap. 17.

* On the part of France there appeared the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable Montmorenci; from Philip, the Duke of Alva and the Prince of Orange; and from the court of England were sent, Thurlby, bishop of Ely, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Wotton, archbishop of York.

quests they had made since the year 1551; that 1559 Philip should marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the King of France, and that Margaret, sister of Henry, should be given in marriage to Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy¹.

This peace was less acceptable to the Netherlanders than it would otherwise have been, since the report was generally believed, and not without foundation, that it had been brought about by the intervention of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, in order that both sovereigns might be left at liberty to employ their whole power against the Reformers. The King of France himself, indeed, had incautiously discovered to the Prince of Orange (ambassador on the part of Philip), on an occasion while hunting, that it was the intention of the King of Spain to unite his arms with those of France, if necessary, to extirpate the heretical sects in their respective dominions^k. If the opinion, that the ultimate design of the two monarchs was the destruction of the reformed religion, wanted confirmation, it was given by the first step which Philip took after the conclusion of the treaty. This was to solicit from the pope, Paul IV., the erection of fourteen new bishoprics in the Netherlands, to provide, as he alleged, for the spiritual wants of an increased population, and to arrest the progress of heresy. Paul, anxious at once to gratify Philip, and to strengthen the hands of the church against the heretics, readily granted a bull to this effect, which was afterwards confirmed by his successor Pius IV. But although the king declared that Philip the Good had, more than a hundred years before,

¹ Thuanus, lib. xx., cap. 20, 21. Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xv., p. 107. *Recueil des Traités de Leonard*, tom. ii., p. 535.

^k Thuanus, lib. xxii., cap. 6.

1559 entertained the design of increasing the number of bishops from a conviction of its necessity, and had recommended it on his deathbed to his son Charles, who was only prevented from executing it by the multiplicity of his other affairs—and that the emperor, his own father, had made it the most especial of his admonitions to him on his resignation—he found it impossible to reconcile the minds of any class of persons to the measure¹. It was odious to the clergy, since the revenues of the new sees were to be created by alienating the funds of the old foundations and abbeys; to the nobles, in those provinces where the clergy formed an estate, because as the bishops would be summoned to the assemblies of the states in place of the abbots, their superior power and dignity would tend to lessen their own authority, and being appointed by the king, they would form a body wholly subservient to Spanish interests; while the people held a firm conviction, that the sole purpose for which the new bishops were instituted, was to increase and support the power of the inquisition; a conviction rendered still stronger by the fact, that each bishop was empowered to appoint nine prebendaries in his cathedral to assist the inquisition in the execution of its duties, two of their number being themselves inquisitors^m.

The very name of this tribunal had now become an object of horror and loathing to men of all ranks and opinions, Catholic as well as Protestant. No less than 50,000 industrious and peaceful citizens had perished in the Netherlands alone, from the effects of it, in conjunction with the penal edicts during the last

¹ Strada de Bello Belgico, dec. i., lib. i., p. 22, 23. Miræi Dip., tom. iii., p. 523.

^m Strada de Bel. Belg., dec. i., lib. ii., p. 37. Meteren Nederl. Hist., boek ii., fol. 31.

reign^a; and its activity continued rather to increase 1559 than abate, although its officers were for the most part obliged to seize on suspected persons secretly, and by night, for fear of exciting tumults; and the execution of its judgments was attended by extreme difficulty and danger; since the people usually accompanied the victims in formidable numbers to the stake, singing psalms, exhorting, and consoling them; and not unfrequently rescued them by force from the hands of the executioners, or aided them in effecting their escape^o.

The persistance in religious persecution was not the only cause of estrangement which had arisen between Philip and his subjects in the course of his four years' residence among them. Notwithstanding that the year 1557 was one of excessive dearth, insomuch, that had it not been for the arrival in Holland of 200 ships laden with grain from Denmark, the people must have suffered from the effects of famine to a fatal extent, the king reiterated his demand of a hundredth upon immoveable property, and a tenth and fifth upon the value of the salt, cloths, and various staple articles of export from Holland^p. This the states peremptorily refused, though they softened their denial by a loan of 100,000 guilders in the following year. Soon after, the states-general of the Netherlands consented to a petition of 800,000 guilders a year for nine years, but provided only that the administration of these funds should remain in their hands for the payment of the garrisons and regular troops; a condition at which the king conceived the deepest

^a Bor's Oorsprong, begin und vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen, boek i., bl. 18. Autthentike Stukken. Idem, deel. i., bl. 6.

^o Meteren Nederl. Hist., boek ii., fol. 32. Brandt, Hist. der Ref., boek iv., bl. 227.

^p Bor, Oorsprong, &c., boek i., bl. 15. Res. der Holl. Staaten op'tjaar 1557, bl. 105, 110.

1559 umbrage, as derogatory to his authority and insulting to his dignity^a.

The comparison between Philip and his father was, moreover, by no means advantageous to the former. Charles, although he detested the popular institutions and despised the tolerant religious spirit of his Netherland subjects, had always borne them a strong personal attachment; he conformed to their customs, spoke their language, and treated them on all occasions with that freedom and familiarity to which they had been accustomed from their sovereigns. He promoted the nobles to the highest offices in his government, and constantly distinguished them by marks of his peculiar favour; the Prince of Orange, especially, whom from his early youth he admitted to his most intimate confidence, and regarded with paternal affection. The austere temper and suspicious disposition of Philip, on the contrary, was peculiarly distasteful to the frank and jovial character of the Netherlanders. He spoke no language but the Spanish, affected on all occasions the Spanish dress and manner, and took little notice of any but the Spanish nobles, by whom he was constantly surrounded, and who, from their pride, insolence, and ignorance, were viewed by the Netherlanders with mingled jealousy and contempt^r.

To these grounds of dissatisfaction was added the report, that the Spanish soldiers, instead of being disbanded, or returning to their own country now that peace was restored, were to be put in possession of the strongest fortresses in the Netherlands, and that 8000 troops of that nation were shortly to be added to the 4000 already quartered in the country.

^a Resol. Holl., 1558, bl. 26. *Meteren Nederl. Hist.*, b. i., fol. 16, 17.

^r *Mém. de Du Maurier*, p. 4—8. *Strada De Bell. Belg.*, dec. i., lib. ii., p. 47, 48.

This excited deep murmurs, not only among the people, 1559 who declared that it was done with the design of bringing them under the yoke of the Spaniards, and of upholding by force the inquisition and the introduction of the new bishops, but likewise among the nobles and governments of the towns, who regarded it as a flagrant violation of the ancient privileges of the land^s.

Such was the state of men's minds when Philip signified his intention of quitting the Netherlands to return to Spain, and the important question came to be decided, into whose hands the government of the provinces should be consigned during his absence. Among the Netherland nobility, those who appeared from their character, station, and circumstances the most eligible to this office, were the Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmond. The eyes of the whole nation were, at this juncture, fixed upon these two nobles, formed no less by their different dispositions than by their relative situation to be rivals, and whom their common interest and their common discontents alone united in the bonds of a friendship, never, it is said, free from the existence of a lurking jealousy.

William, prince of Orange, a descendant from the ancient and powerful family of Nassau, of which a member, Adolphus of Nassau had, above two centuries before, borne the imperial crown, was of a character well fitted to sustain and augment the lustre of his house. Ere he had scarce reached the age of adolescence, (he was at this time no more than twenty-six,) the opinion entertained by the Emperor Charles V. of his wisdom and capacity was so exalted, that he was accustomed to permit him, and frequently him alone of all his court, to be present at the private audiences of foreign ambassadors, and to take part in all the most

^s Bor. Oorsp., &c., boek i., bl. 18, 19.

1559 secret affairs of state; nor did he disdain to acknowledge that ideas and reflections, which had escaped his more experienced judgment, were often suggested by his youthful counsellor, who, on no one occasion, was found to betray or abuse the trust thus reposed in him. Prudent and reserved, his thoughts were impenetrable, even to those admitted to his most intimate friendship; neither the blandishments of affection, nor the subtlety of envy, ever surprised him for a moment off his guard, or tempted him to disclose that which he wished to conceal; his power of gaining the good-will and confidence of those to whom he addressed himself was unbounded; not that he ever descended to any affectation of extraordinary courtesy, or to the base arts of flattery, but that he found means to inspire his hearers with the idea that they were peculiarly the objects of his esteem, and that he was prepared to evince by his actions that friendship which he forbore to express in words.

Lamoral, count of Egmond, though a genuine Dutchman, his ancestors having possessed the territory of that name in Holland before its erection into a county, was of a disposition more resembling the South Netherlanders, being wholly destitute of that firmness of character and tenacity of purpose by which the Dutch are distinguished above all other nations. Frank, credulous, and confiding, his kindly and affable manners rendered him the idol, as his brilliant warlike achievements had made him the hero of the people; superior to the Prince of Orange in military skill and enterprise, he was immeasurably below him in talent, education, and political sagacity, and, though twelve years his senior, in discretion. Both were ambitious; but the ambition of Egmond made him desirous of honours and distinctions, to become thereby an object of wonder

and admiration to his countrymen, while Orange cared 1559 little for the outward show of power, provided he possessed the reality; the ardour of Egmond's character prompted him to engage in his schemes with eagerness, while his inconstancy exposed him to be discouraged at the first obstacle; Orange, on the other hand, with a foresight of dangers almost amounting to timidity, could never be deterred by them from pursuing a resolution which he had once adopted; the temper of the one was hasty and somewhat irascible, of the other, bland and imperturbable; the hospitality constantly practised by Orange was a means judiciously employed to gain friends and to maintain his credit with the populace; that of Egmond, the natural indulgence of his joyous and social disposition. The personal appearance of these two great rivals in popular favour was no less opposite than their manners and character. The countenance of Orange, pale, thin, and haggard, gave token of the thoughtful and unquiet spirit which lurked within; that of Egmond, full and florid, wore the sunny unclouded expression which is seldom observed to survive the freshness of early youth. Orange was best fitted to inspire veneration; Egmond was formed to be loved^t.

Besides these, another candidate for the government was Christina, duchess of Lorraine, niece of Charles V., who had given a distinguished proof of her abilities in the negotiation of the peace of Chateau Cambresis. She was strongly supported by William of Orange, who hoped, in the event of his own exclusion, still to retain an influence in public affairs by a marriage with her daughter; and towards her, next to Orange and Egmond, the wishes of the Netherlands were directed—sufficient reasons, perhaps, to induce Philip

^t Strada De Bell. Belg., dec. i., lib. i., p. 24, 57, 87.

1559 to set aside her claims in favour of his natural sister, Margaret, wife of Octavius Farnese, duke of Parma, whom he accordingly summoned from Italy^u.

On her arrival, the king meeting her at the confines of the Netherlands, conducted her with great magnificence to Ghent, where the states-general were assembled; and in an audience of leave held soon after, declared, that, out of his paternal care and anxiety for the welfare of his states, he had appointed the Duchess of Parma to the government, as being born and bred among the Netherland people, conversant with their laws and language, and because of the strong attachment she had always entertained for them. The close of his address, however, neutralized entirely the effect of the flattering terms he had used at its commencement; he admonished not only the duchess, but every member of the government, to the diligent execution of the edicts lately made and renewed against the heretics, a charge which at once convinced the deputies that the odious religious persecutions were to be carried on with renewed vigour, and that the Spanish troops were left in the Netherlands with no other view than that of strengthening the hands of government for this purpose. They therefore presented to the king a petition, praying that the foreign soldiers might either be disbanded or removed, the defence of the boundaries being left, as heretofore, to the native troops; and, secondly, that the country might be governed by a council composed solely of Netherlanders, to the exclusion of foreigners.

Philip, taken somewhat by surprise at these demands, observed in answer, that he had no desire to thrust strangers into public offices in the Netherlands, as his appointment of the governess sufficiently testi-

^u Strada de Bell. Belg., dec. i., lib. i., p. 25.

fied, and promised that the Spanish troops should be withdrawn, within a period of four months at the farthest^v.

If anything were wanting to render this petition more unpalatable to the sovereign, it was the circumstance of its being signed by the Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn, whom he had appointed to the command of the troops, in order, if possible, to reconcile the people to their presence; and to this source is generally ascribed those bitter feelings of hatred with which Philip ever afterwards regarded his Netherland subjects, and these nobles in particular. He was able, however, to dissemble for the time, except upon one occasion, when an ebullition burst forth, in spite of his efforts to retain it. Just as he was on the point of departure from Flushing, the Prince of Orange, having come with a number of the principal nobility to bid him adieu, Philip reproached him, with an angry countenance, that, by his secret machinations, he had impeded the execution of his measures. The prince replied, with great humility, that it was the act of the states alone. “Non los estados!” exclaimed the king, seizing his wrist, and shaking it violently; “mas vos, vos, vos!” (Not the states, but you, you, you!) repeating three times the “vos,” a term of contempt among the Spaniards^w.

Margaret, duchess of Parma, into whose hands Philip now entrusted the government of the Netherlands, was a natural daughter of Charles V., born in the year 1522, and married, first to Alexander de Medici, and secondly, to Octavius Farnese, duke of Parma. Of a strong understanding, masculine courage, and ambitious spirit, her love of power was so inordi-

^v Bor, Oorsp., &c., boek i., bl. 20—22.

^w Idem, Mém. de Du Maurier, p. 9.

1559 nate, that she could not endure to share it even with her husband. She had been bred up from her infancy by Margaret, duchess of Savoy, and after her death, by the late governess, Mary, who fostered her natural quickness of intellect by a careful and comprehensive education; from the latter she imbibed the passion for field sports, remarkable in all the princesses of this family. She pursued the chase (of the stag in particular) with an avidity and perseverance rarely to be met with even in the other sex, the generality of whom she surpassed in capability of enduring fatigue, and in vigour of constitution, occasional fits of the gout being the only infirmity to which she was subject; while her tall and large stature contributed with her gestures, and something of a beard on the upper lip and chin, to give her the appearance of a man in female apparel. To counterbalance these not very agreeable attributes, she possessed a fund of natural kindness and benevolence, a mild temper, and affable manners. But neither the qualities of her mind nor heart had recommended her to the favour of Philip so much as the circumstance of her having been, from the time of her first marriage, a pupil and penitent of Ignatius Loyola, to whom she was in the habit of confessing herself even more frequently than the custom of the time warranted; and the mode in which she manifested her piety, by washing every year the feet of twelve poor women, whom she afterwards attended herself at table^x.

Three councils were appointed to assist her in the conduct of affairs. A privy council, empowered to grant letters of freedom and pardon, and to watch over law and order; a council of finance to administer the public revenues, and the domains of the sovereign; and a council of state, to advise in matters relating to

^x Strada, dec. i., lib. i., p. 27, 30.

peace and war, and the higher affairs of government. 1559

Of this latter council were nominated, Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, William, prince of Orange, Lamoral, count of Egmond, Charles, count of Barlaimont, superintendent of the finances, the doctor Viglius van Zuichem, president of the privy council, Philip de Montmorency, count of Hoorn, and Charles de Croye, lord of Aarschot; the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and the members of the privy council and council of finance, were likewise to have admittance when summoned by the governess[†]. The members of this council received from the king a private instruction to the effect, that, though they might hear and examine, they should decide no question without the advice of the Bishop of Arras, the Prince of Orange, the Count of Barlaimont, and Viglius van Zuichem; and, in order, probably, to shield individual members from the odium of any obnoxious measures they might pursue, they were required to take an oath, that they would support in public whatever opinion prevailed in the council, notwithstanding their inclinations might be strongly opposed to it^{z*}.

Separate stadtholders were also placed over all the provinces, except Brabant, in which the governess herself resided. The Prince of Orange was made stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; John de Ligny, count of Aremberg, of Friezland, Overysse, and Groningen; and Charles de Brimen, count of Megen, of Guelderland and Zutphen. The stad-

[†] Hooft Nederl. Hist., boek i., bl. 22.

^z Meteren Nederl. Hist., boek i., fol. 25. Strada de Bell. Belg., p. 32.

* This is denied by Hooft (bl. 23); but as it is positively asserted by Strada, who had ample means of information, and is very unlikely to have wilfully misrepresented the fact, there appears no reason to disbelieve it.

1559 holdership of Flanders was bestowed on Lamoral, count of Egmond^a.

Having thus arranged matters for his departure, Philip set sail from Flushing on the 26th of August, in a fleet of fifty large and forty smaller vessels. He had scarcely arrived before the port of Laredo, when he was overtaken by so violent a tempest, that the ship in which he sailed foundered, the whole of his baggage and jewels were lost, and he himself with difficulty reached the land in a small boat. He ascribed his preservation to a miraculous interposition of Providence, that he might live to extirpate heresy ; and to testify his gratitude, immediately upon his landing in Spain, assisted at the burning of a number of heretics in Seville, on which occasion no less than fourteen noble ladies suffered death at the stake^b.

It soon appeared that the council of state in the Netherlands was a mere phantom, created to give the sanction of its name to the measures pursued by the governess, under the dictation of Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, in whose hands the whole authority of the government lay ; a man whose powerful mind, undaunted courage, and iron constitution, well fitted him to press down the yoke upon the necks of a free people with a firm and steady hand. Deeply skilled in affairs, learned, eloquent, and accomplished, he spoke seven languages with grace and fluency, and was able to dictate, at the same time, to five amanuenses ; patient of labour, he was often absorbed in business for days and nights together without sleep or food. He had at an early age succeeded his father, Nicholas de Granvelle—who, during twenty years, the most intimate friend and counsellor of the Emperor Charles V., had

^a Strada, dec. i., lib. i., p. 21.

^b Hooft, Nederl. Hist., b. i., bl. 26.

died in his service—in the favour and confidence of that monarch, and thus initiated from his childhood into all the secrets of state, added vast experience to his natural capacity. On the death of the emperor, he obtained an equally high place in the esteem of Philip, by affecting a great regard for the interests of religion, and during his stay in the Netherlands, the king took no step either in foreign or domestic matters without first consulting him. At his departure he recommended him to the especial favour of Margaret, whom indeed Granvelle had been chiefly instrumental in elevating to the government, in opposition to Christina of Lorraine^c.

The first act of Granvelle's administration was the 1560 publication of the bull of Pope Pius IV., confirmatory of that of his predecessor, creating fourteen new bishoprics, in addition to the four already existing in the Netherlands, of which, Mechlin, Cambray, and Utrecht were to be archbishoprics*; the nomination to the new sees was vested in the king, to be confirmed by the pope. Granvelle himself was made Archbishop of Mechlin, and received a cardinal's hat, a circumstance which increased, if possible, the aversion of the people to this innovation^d.

The apprehension of the states also, that the foreign soldiers were left in the country to uphold both the bishops and the inquisition by force of arms, appeared but too truly realized, when it was found that their removal, which the king had explicitly promised should take place within four months, was delayed under

^c Strada, dec. i., lib. ii., p. 50.

^d Miræi Dip. Belg., tom. i., p. 156.

* The remaining new sees were Antwerp, Ruremonde, Bois-le-Duc, Haarlem, Deventer, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Middleburg, Namur, St. Omer, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges.

various pretexts, which Philip, following the advice of Granvelle, desired the governess to invent, rather than allow them to depart. It was only on the earnest representations of Margaret, of the dangers that would ensue from their longer stay, that Philip "rather hastily than willingly" consented to withdraw them.

1561 She dreaded lest the towns of the Netherlands should unanimously shut their gates against them, since the states of all the provinces had refused to contribute any further funds for their support; and the Zealanders had declared their determination to leave the dikes unrepaired, since they would rather their land were swallowed up by the ocean, than preserve it to be overrun by a foreign soldiery; a resolution which, as she well knew, they would not hesitate to abide by^e.

The new bishops, who it is said the king took care should be "learned men famed as authors, approved of by the Council of Trent^{*}, and such as the people should be ashamed to refuse^f," were received in Mechlin, and some other sees, though not without great opposition and tumult; but in the remainder, the threats of the populace that they would put them to death if they attempted to enter the towns, were found of sufficient force to deter the government from insisting for the present upon their introduction. In this difficulty, the council of state, with the consent of the governess, despatched the Lord of Montigny,

^e Strada, dec. i., lib. i., p. 33; lib. iii., p. 62—64.

^f Idem, dec. i., lib. i., p. 23.

^{*} Five of them had been deputies to the council, and it was probably to their services there, that they owed their present elevation; they were, Gerard van Hamericourt, bishop of St. Omer, John Mahusius of Deventer, Martin Ryhoven of Ypres, Cornelius Jansen of Ghent, and Francis Sonnoy, bishop of Bois-le-Duc, and afterwards of Antwerp.—*Miræi Dip. Belg.*, tom. iii., p. 465, 466.

brother of the Count of Hoorn, to Spain, to lay before the king the actual condition of the Netherlands provinces, and to represent the discontents excited among the people by the establishment of the bishops and the inquisition. But as his mission had been anticipated by a private letter from Margaret, alleging that the discontents were fomented entirely by the nobles, who were jealous of the influence of Granvelle, it produced no other effect than a recommendation to her from Philip to aim at dissolving their union, by sowing dissensions between the Count of Egmond and the Prince of Orange, and to watch carefully all the movements of the latter^s.

Meanwhile, the unpopularity of Granvelle among all ranks of men constantly increased. The people cast on him the blame of all the obnoxious measures, and of the persecution which was daily becoming more merciless and violent against the Reformers. Among the nobles, Orange, Egmond, and the Count of Hoorn, had private causes of enmity against him. Besides the share he had taken in the exclusion of either of the two former from the office of governor, he had successfully used his influence to prevent the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine; and had added to his offence against Egmond, the obtaining for one of his own followers, the gift of the Abbey of St. Truye, which he had solicited the pope for his son; while Hoorn, who, by his refusal to give his sister in marriage to the brother of the cardinal, had excited the anger of the latter against him, had been in his turn aggrieved, by Granvelle's preventing an advantageous sale of some

^s Bor, Oorsp., &c., boek. i., bl. 27. Strada, dec. i., lib. iii., p. 86.

1562 estates which he had made to the citizens of Antwerp^a. The remainder were disgusted by his haughty bearing, and the contempt in which he affected to hold them, and dissatisfied that they were seldom called to the council of state, and even on these few occasions enjoyed none of the confidence of their sovereign; Granvelle being accustomed to discuss all the despatches from Spain with the governess alone, and then to hand them to Viglius and Barlaimont, to read such parts only to the council as he had not marked privateⁱ.

Thus impelled at once by motives of public discontent and private pique, the Prince of Orange, in conjunction with the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn, 1563 addressed a letter to the king, representing that the cardinal had excited so general a hatred amongst all classes of persons, that the utter ruin of the country must inevitably ensue, unless he were removed from the administration of affairs; and praying that, if the king were determined upon his continuance, he would be pleased to excuse them from further attendance in the council. Philip replied that, although he was convinced of the zeal and affection of the three nobles for his service, he was not accustomed to dismiss any of his ministers without a cause. Having addressed a second letter to the king, couched in still more earnest terms, and presented a petition to the same effect to the governess, Orange, Egmond, and Hoorn absented themselves entirely from the deliberations of the council of state, protesting that their attendance, so long as the cardinal remained, tended in nothing to the king's service, but solely to their own dishonour^k.

^a Hooft Nederl. Hist., boek i., bl. 25. Strada, dec. i., lib. ii., p. 52. Justification of the Count of Hoorn. Bor, Autthen. Stukken, deel. i., bl. 61.

ⁱ Strada, dec. i., lib. iii., p. 84.

^k Bor, b. i., bl. 29. Autth. Stuk., bl. 79. Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., p. 91.

As there appeared but little chance of removing 1563 Granvelle from his office by any legitimate means, the disaffected nobles next applied themselves to undermine his authority by bringing him into contempt with the whole nation, or to render his situation so irksome that weariness and disgust should at length oblige him to retire. They induced such as were opposed to his government to assume the party badge of a fool's cap sewed on the sleeve of their garments, and to dress their servants in black livery, in order to mark their numbers. They afterwards, indeed, complied so far with the remonstrances of the governess, as to relinquish the former, which was interpreted as an irreverent allusion to the cardinal's hat, but substituted in its stead a bundle of arrows, signifying, as they affirmed, their union in the service of the king; while the friends of the cardinal maintained, on the other hand, that it was a token of the conspiracy they had formed against him. The provinces teemed with lampoons, pasquinades, and caricatures*, the authors of which the governess received commands from the king to discover and to punish. She, however, promptly desisted from the search, since she found that it would be a work of too much hazard to attempt to apply remedies to these abuses¹.

At length, Margaret, finding that all her efforts to induce the seceding nobles to resume their sittings in the council were fruitless, and beginning to grow weary of the contest, and perhaps of the overbearing temper of the cardinal himself, sent her secretary,

¹ Hooft *Nederl. Hist.*, b. i., bl. 38—42. Strada, *dec. i.*, lib. iv., p. 95.

* The cardinal had, one day, thrust into his hand a picture of himself sitting on a nest of eggs, from which bishops were hatching; over his head was a devil, saying, "This is my beloved son, hear ye him."

Armenteros, to Spain, to solicit his recall. The consent of the king, however, to part with his ancient and long-trusted servant was not easily obtained; Armenteros returned without any decisive answer, when Granvelle, who perceived the favour of the governess towards him daily declining, and the zeal of his friends growing cold, and fearing, it may be, lest the detestation in which he was held might assume the form of a conspiracy against his life, made some family affairs a pretext for retiring to his native country of Burgundy^a.

1564 His departure tended but little at first to allay the general discontents, still further increased by a season of scarcity and some misunderstandings with England, by which the Netherlands were deprived of their accustomed trade with that country. Men said, that although the cardinal was absent in person, he was present in spirit, since Viglius and Barliamont, his creatures, possessed the whole authority both of the privy council (of which the former was president) and of the council of finance; rumours were constantly afloat of his speedy return, and that the decrees lately issued by the Council of Trent, upholding the inquisition and the authority of the bishops were to be strictly enforced^a.

In a short time, however, as the expectation of Granvelle's return died away, matters began to assume a more favourable aspect. The discontented nobles resumed their attendance in the council of state, and applied themselves to the despatch of business with unexampled industry and zeal; and while, on the one hand, they conciliated the good will of Margaret by their vehement professions of obedience and devotion

^a Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., bl. 97.

^a Meteren, b. ii., fol. 33, 34. Bor, Oorsp., &c., b. i., bl. 20. Strada dec. i., lib. iv., p. 100.

to her service, they left no method untried to gain the 1564 confidence of the nobility and deputies of the states. The cardinalists, as the friends of Granvelle were called, soon fell wholly into discredit, and the governess, instead of holding private consultations on every subject with Viglius and Barlaimont, as heretofore, appeared to be guided wholly by the opinions of the "patriot" party, which appellation Orange, Egmond, and their adherents, appropriated to themselves. The effect of this change was soon felt in the cessation of religious persecution; the inquisition, unsupported by the civil power, began to exercise its functions but with langour and timidity; and the governments of most of the towns eagerly availing themselves of the opportunity to render the penal edicts a mere dead letter*, the people began to enjoy a virtual security and liberty of conscience, as new as it was welcome.

* The efforts of the magistrates to shield their fellow-citizens of the reformed religion from the effects of these edicts were various and unceasing. Sometimes they induced them to attend mass once or twice for appearance sake, and then appealed to the circumstance as a proof of their being good Catholics; often, when they knew an accusation was likely to be brought against them, they gave them timely warning, or provided them with a place of concealment. The method adopted on one occasion by the magistrates of Hoorn was rather curious. The government of that town being accused before the council of Holland by one Dirk, a hot-headed meddling priest, of remissness in the punishment of heretics, a commissioner, named Charles Smyter, was sent to inquire into the matter. On his arrival at Hoorn, he was received with great courtesy by the burgomasters and principal members of the government, who took it by turns to entertain him, which they did so effectually, that the only movement he was able to make was "from bed to table, and from table to bed." The answers, therefore, to all such as came to give information concerning heretics, was either that the commissioner was engaged at meals, or that he was asleep. Having spent a week in this manner, and hearing no accusation, he returned to the Hague, lauding to the skies the religious disposition of the good citizens of Hoorn, against whom, he said, he had not heard the slightest complaint of heresy during the whole time he had been there. The chief burgomaster had not forgotten to recommend his hospitalities still further, by a liberal present of money. Velius Hoorn, b. iii., bl. 155.

1564 But to counterbalance the real benefit which the nobles thus conferred on their countrymen, they are accused of having caused evils in the administration of civil affairs, far greater than any they could complain of under Granvelle. The course of justice was impeded by their refusal to permit the execution of any judgments of the provincial courts that were not confirmed by the council of state, and the authority of the courts themselves was thus brought into contempt; persons condemned by them were either delivered or protected by the council; criminals of every degree ransomed themselves by sums of money paid, as it was said, either to the members of the council, or their servants; public offices were set to sale; places of trust conferred, from motives of private interest, on unworthy and incapable persons; the taint of bribery was allowed to creep into every department of the state; and the morals of the people were corrupted by the establishment of lotteries^o.

Though these heavy charges of malversation against the patriot party are to be received with caution, as resting principally on the evidence of their rancorous opponents, yet it is certain that they used means, unjustifiable alike in themselves and in their object, to undermine, or wholly annihilate, the authority of the privy council and council of finance, by which all their measures for modifying the severity of the inquisition and the penal edicts were constantly opposed. Matters which of right belonged solely to the cognizance of these two councils, were brought forward by the governess at their suggestion to be discussed and decided in the council of state; and they endeavoured, moreover, to persuade her to place the disbursement of the public

^o Joachim Hopperus, *De Initiis Tumultuum Belgicorum*, lib. ii., cap. 2, p. 37—39.

funds at their disposal. The Prince of Orange, indeed, 1563
openly declared that no remedy was to be expected for
the evils of the state until ten or twelve of the most
esteemed among the nobility were added to this coun-
cil, and authority were given to it over both the others.

It was with the view, probably, of bringing about
some change of this nature, that they proposed to Mar-
garet the appointment of an ambassador to the king,
to represent to him the condition of the provinces,
from the increase of heresy, the defective administra-
tion of justice, and the exhaustion of the finances; and
to solicit a mitigation of the penal edicts and the
severity of the inquisition: and some modification with
respect to the establishment of the new bishops. The
choice fell on the Count of Egmond, who, having
some private favours to ask of Philip, readily accepted
the charge^p.

His reception at the court of Spain was such as
was due to the captain of so many victories; the king
and his courtiers vied with each other in testimonies of
courtesy and esteem; all his personal requests were
granted, and he was dismissed with fair promises as
regarded the object of his embassy. On his return to
the Netherlands, Egmond gave his countrymen hopes
that the king would shortly transmit despatches from
Spain, modifying both the edicts and the inquisition,
for which purpose a council meanwhile was to be
formed, of three bishops, three professors of theology,
three doctors of civil and three of canon law^q.

The despatches soon after arrived, but proved
wholly contrary to what Egmond had been led himself,
and had led others, to expect. The Council of Trent,
which had resumed its sittings in 1562, after a suspen-

^p Hopper., *De Initia*, &c., lib. ii., cap. 3, p. 39—42.

^q Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., p. 110. Bor, boek i., bl. 31.

1565 sion of ten years, was now terminated, having wholly failed in the objects for which it was assembled—the reform, namely, of the Catholic church, and the healing of religious dissensions. That any concession should have been made to the reformed churches, or the slightest approximation towards a reconciliation of their different doctrines, was scarcely to be expected from the composition of the assembly; but it might have been supposed that prudence or policy would have led to the purifying of those corruptions most glaring in the eyes of the generality of mankind, and offensive to the most devoted members of the Catholic church itself; and that some of those dogmas and ceremonies, odious and burdensome alike to the enlightened and unlearned, and neither necessary to the discipline of the church, nor conducive to her stability, might have been abolished or modified. Such were the least of the advantages to which the nations of Europe looked forward from its deliberations, of which, however, the results wholly frustrated their anticipations. Each obsolete pretension, each antiquated abuse, was recognised and confirmed by the sanction of its decisions, and became henceforth a vital principle of faith; the most absurd tenets of the Catholic church—the veneration of relics, the worship of saints, and the sale of indulgences,—were insisted on with as much vehemence as the most important, and a similar punishment awarded for their violation. But, however defective or mischievous the decrees of the council, the strong arm with which they furnished the hierarchy for the extirpation of heresy, rendered them highly acceptable to Philip. Accordingly, the governess now received a stringent command to cause the decrees to be immediately published throughout the Netherlands, and enforced to their full extent. She was enjoined, at

the same time, to support the inquisition with the whole authority of the government, and to renew the rigorous execution of the penal edicts, both of this and the last reign; Philip declaring, that he never meant to permit any other modification of the punishment of death for heresy than that, to avoid tumult, the executions should be secret instead of public^r.

The question of the publication of the king's mandates excited animated and stormy debates, both in the privy council and council of state; Viglius urged the necessity of keeping them secret until an ambassador could be sent to explain to Philip the state of men's minds, and the opposition that was likely to arise; offering to take upon himself the responsibility of the delay. His opinion was supported by many of the members of both councils; but Orange and his partisans, on the other hand, insisted that the king's pleasure should be immediately made known to the courts of justice and the governments of the towns; with the view, as it was but too justly imputed to them, of exciting those very murmurs, and of fomenting those disturbances, which they affected to dread. The advice thus insidiously given, was unfortunately followed*. Margaret despatched forthwith to the stadtholders of all the provinces, an edict containing an extract from the king's letter, to which she required them to yield a punctual and ready obedience, and commanded that they should instruct all the public officers and magistrates of the towns to aid and assist the inquisitors to the utmost of their power^s.

The consequences of the measure were exactly such

^r Bor, boek i., bl. 32. Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., p. 119.

^s Hopper, lib. ii., cap. 7, p. 58. Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., p. 120.

* Vide Note I at the end of the volume.

1565 as all parties had anticipated. No sooner was the edict published in the provinces, than the ferment became violent and universal. Inflammatory and seditious pamphlets and placards were scattered abroad, and posted up on the walls of the towns, declaring that the hope which had been excited of a mitigation of the edicts was a mere fraud; that the ill advisers of the king were determined upon the destruction of the Netherlands; and exhorting the people to defend themselves bravely against the inquisition, and the tyranny which the Spaniards would force upon them. Notwithstanding the severe decrees against printing or publishing unlicensed works, all efforts to discover and punish their authors proved unavailing^t.

The nobles, perceiving that the people were on the eve of an insurrection, of which the first effects would most probably be the plunder and destruction of their defenceless country houses, in order to provide for their own security by union, and to engage the forbearance of the people by making common cause with them, formed among themselves the celebrated confederacy, which was fraught with such important consequences to their country. By this bond of alliance, usually called the "Compromise," which was signed at first by eleven only, and afterwards by some hundreds of the nobility and principal merchants, they engaged themselves by oath "to resist to the utmost of their power the establishment of the inquisition, under what name or pretext soever; to support and assist each other as faithful friends and brothers; and if any one of them were disquieted or molested on account of this alliance, to devote their lives and properties to his protection".

Neither the Prince of Orange nor the Count of

^t Meteren, boek ii., fol. 40. Bor, boek ii., bl. 51.

^u Bor, boek ii., bl. 53.

Egmond signed this document, but, on the contrary, 1566 gave information of the league to the governess^v, whether to exculpate themselves from the suspicion of any share in it, or, by exciting her alarm, to bend her the more readily to their purposes. It is most probable they were impelled by the latter motive, since, although informed of its existence, she was left in ignorance of its real nature and extent (with which Orange must have been well acquainted, since his brother, Louis of Nassau, was one of the principal devisers and promoters of it); and thus, prone to believe all the sinister rumours which were rapidly in circulation, as to the number and designs of the confederates; some alleging that the whole body of the nobility was in a state of revolt, and that they were coming to the court in arms; and others, that they had invited foreign soldiers, both horse and foot, to their aid^w.

The governess having summoned in haste to the council of state the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and such of the stadtholders as were not at court, the confederate nobles took occasion from hence to assemble at Brussels, for the purpose of presenting her in full council, with a remonstrance upon the present state of affairs. Accordingly, on the 5th of April, they proceeded to the court, between 300 and 400 in number, walking slowly in ranks of four abreast, the procession being closed by the Lord of Brederode and Count Louis of Nassau, as chiefs of the confederacy. On their appearance before the governess, Brederode delivered an address, disowning and deprecating the malicious insinuations of their enemies, that they designed to pave the way for sedition and revolt, and that they held secret communication with the com-

^v See her Letter to the King in Bor's Autthent. Stuk., deel i., bl. 84.

^w Bor, boek ii., bl. 55.

1566 manders of the reformed troops in France and Germany, and professing their zeal for the service of the king; after which he presented a petition, praying that she would send a fit and capable person to Spain, to represent to the king the misery and ruin which threatened his Netherland dominions, and which the abolition of the inquisition, the abrogation of the penal edicts, and a new ordinance concerning religion, framed with the advice and consent of the states-general, were the only means of averting; and, likewise, that she would cause the inquisition and edicts to be suspended till an answer should arrive from the king. To these demands the governess replied, that she had already advised with the privy council upon the question of laying before the king a proposal for moderating the edicts, but that she had no authority to suspend either them or the inquisition; she would, nevertheless, she said, issue commands to the inquisitors to proceed with mildness and discretion in the execution of their office^x.

The confederates, to avoid assembling a crowd, or exciting tumults, had, on this occasion, gone to court on foot, plainly dressed, and unarmed, which led the Count of Barlaimont to remark to the governess, on their approach, that "she had no cause of fear, since they were only a troop of beggars (*gueux*)."^y The taunt was but too truly applied; many of the most illustrious families had, from so distant a period as the reign of Philip the Good, been accustomed to squander their incomes in attendance on a luxurious and expensive court; and a great portion of the nobility were now accused of being prompted by their embarrassed circumstances to seek a change in affairs^y. The blot,

^x Bor, Oorsp., &c., boek ii., bl. 55—60.

^y Hooft, Nederl. Hist., boek i., bl. 25.

therefore, thus cast upon them remained; but liberty shed her halo round it, and it appeared a star of honour on their breasts. At a feast given the same evening by the Lord of Brederode, in the house of Cuilembourg, where nearly three hundred guests were present, the expression being repeated, was eagerly caught up, and handed from mouth to mouth: "It was no shame," they said, "to be beggars for their country's good." "Live the gueux!" resounded from all sides of the apartment. Brederode appearing shortly after, with a wooden vessel such as pilgrims and mendicant monks were wont to carry, pledged the whole company to the health of the "Gueux!" the cup went round; Orange, Egmond, and the Count of Hoorn, whom the noise of the banquet had attracted thither, were forced by a gentle coercion to join in the pledge, and mirth and wine crowned the birth of that name, which was ere long, to be the watchword of strife and bloodshed. Sober reflection confirmed what levity had suggested; the value of a party-name and a party-badge (a standard which men are often ashamed to desert, when they have failed of every object for which they raised it), was acknowledged; the appellation of "gueux" was adopted alike by those of the reformed religion, and such as were hostile to the measures of the government; they dressed themselves and their families in the beggars' costume of grey cloth, with a small wooden porringer, or cup, fastened to their caps, and wore about their necks medals of gold or silver, whereon was engraven, on the one side the image of the king, on the other a beggar's wallet and two hands joined, with the motto "Fidèles au roy—jusqu'à la besace*."

* "Faithful to the king, even to the wallet."—Strada, dec. i., lib. v., p. 135. Du Maurier, p. 25.

1566 As the answer of the governess appeared scarcely satisfactory to the petitioners, they presented a second remonstrance, professing their desire to submit to whatever the king, with the advice of the states-general, should ordain, for the preservation of the ancient religion; and praying that, to silence the malevolence of their enemies, she would cause their last petition to be printed, word for word, without change or interpolation; and that she would command the inquisitors to suspend for the present the execution of their office. Margaret, fearful of allowing them to separate in discontent, promised, that until the king's answer arrived, the inquisitors should not proceed against any one on account of religion, except in case of sedition, or open scandal. She refused, however, to comply with a requisition they made, that she should declare what they had done to be for the service of God and the king. Upon the faith of her promise, the confederate nobles dispersed, having first appointed deputies in each province to watch over its performance^a.

To deprecate the anger of Philip, which Margaret well knew would be excited to the highest pitch by these proceedings on the part of the nobles, it was determined in the council of state to despatch ambassadors to Spain, as well for this purpose, as to obtain the king's consent to the project of a moderation of the penal edicts, which the governess had framed with the assistance of the privy council. They were instructed, likewise, to solicit the abolition of the inquisition, and a general indemnity in favour of the confederate nobles. This difficult and delicate commission was entrusted to John, marquis of Bergen, and Florence de Montmorenci, lord of Montigny, (brother of

^a Meteren, boek ii., fol. 41.

the Count of Hoorn,) both knights of the Golden Fleece, and men of discretion and talent. They were received with apparent complacency by Philip, who showed himself inclined to suspend the inquisition on condition that the bishops should first be inducted and confirmed in their sees, and to permit the council of state to modify the penal edicts, provided his sanction were obtained to the proposed alterations, before they were promulgated in the Netherlands. The ambassadors soon found, however, that measures were taken to prevent their transmitting any private intelligence to their friends, and that various pretexts were used to detain them at the court of Spain, whence they never returned^b.

The joy caused by the relaxation of persecution consequent on the orders of the governess, soon gave way to renewed fear and suspicion. When the moderation (or as the populace called it, "murderation") devised by her and the privy council became known, it was found to be such as to excite the indignation of many, and the contempt of all. Priests, teachers, and those who exercised any office among the Reformers, the composers, printers, or sellers of any pamphlet, song, or pasquinade, were to be hanged instead of burnt alive; the punishment of death being changed to banishment, in favour of the common people only^c.

The assembly of the states-general also, which men had been led to expect, was evaded in a manner equally unprecedented and unconstitutional. The petition which they had presented in 1559, for the removal of the foreign soldiers, had planted such deep resentment in the breast of Philip, that he had strictly forbidden

^b Meteren, fol. 42. Strada, dec. i., lib. v., p. 149.

^c Meteren, b. ii., fol. 41. Bor., b. ii., bl. 64, 65.

1566 the governess ever to assemble them more^d. Accordingly, instead of summoning the states of all the provinces together, as had been, since their union under one sovereign, the invariable custom, when any matter of general concernment was to be considered, she sent the scheme of the moderation to the states of some of the provinces only, with strict injunctions to keep it secret; while in Holland, Zealand, Friezland, Guelderland, and Overysse, whose privileges were more extensive, and more strenuously asserted than those of the other provinces, they were left unsummoned^e.

The answer from the king to the subject of Bergen and Montigny's embassy, was delayed from time to time. Meanwhile the sentiments both of Philip and the governess were supposed to be sufficiently discovered, by the treatment of the confederate nobles, who were looked upon at court with a coldness almost amounting to disdain. The mistrust of the people was still further excited by the equipment of ships of war in various ports of the Netherlands, and by the purchase of an immense quantity of arms and ammunition on the part of some Spanish agents at Antwerp, and in Zealand^f.

The Reformers, despairing on the one hand of obtaining any more favourable terms from Spain, and encouraged on the other by the sympathy and protection which the nobles had manifested towards their cause, began to declare themselves more boldly. Instead of meeting a few together, in woods and bye-places, as had hitherto been their custom, they now began to assemble in the plains and open fields in great numbers; to show, they said, "how many the inquisition would have to burn, slay, and banish." In the commencement they were unarmed; but after being

^d Strada, dec. i., lib. iii., p. 86.

^e Bor, b. ii., bl. 62.

^f Idem, 63, 66.

threatened or disturbed, they provided themselves with 1566 pistols and rapiers, and finally went fully armed with clubs, pikes, and muskets. The first of these assemblies was held near Oudenarde, where the people, on the summons of one Herman Stryker, the reformed preacher of the town, flocked together to hear him, 7000 in number. One Cornelius Kroeser, schout of a neighbouring village, undertook alone to disperse the multitude, and with this intent, rushed in among them on horseback, holding in one hand a musket, in the other a drawn sword, and directed his course straight towards the preacher. The people, as yet unarmed, poured upon him a shower of stones from all quarters; when, receiving a severe wound in the head, he threw down his weapons and fled, but with difficulty escaped death. The next time the Reformers went fully prepared with arms, fortified the circuit of the wide plain in which they assembled with waggons, and stationed guards at all the entrances. Some remained outside the encampment, and in the roads leading to it, offering the forbidden books for sale, and inviting the passers by to go in and hear the sermon. A pulpit was raised by means of planks placed across a waggon; nearest to it stood the women and children, the men forming a circle round them. A deep and stern silence prevailed, broken only by the voice of the preacher as it floated on the wind. When he had made an end, the whole congregation sung a psalm, and afterwards returned in the same military order they came, dispersing at the gates of the towns.

At Antwerp, a preaching was held on St. John's day, within a quarter of a mile of the city, which was attended by 5000 persons, four separate stations of armed men being placed to secure them from molesta-

* Meteren, b. ii., fol. 42. Brandt, Hist. der Ref., b. vi., bl. 305, 325.

1566 tion. A report being spread, that the burgher guard were coming to disperse them, they quietly continued their occupation, observing, "that if they came, they would find men to stand against them^b." As another sermon was announced for the Saturday following, the senate sent to inform the governess of the fact, and to ask what means they were to adopt for arresting these disorders. She recommended that the burgomasters should employ the schuttery to prevent the meeting, as was usual in such cases; but from this they excused themselves, on the plea that it was impossible the schuttery could act with any effect against so vast a number of persons, provided with arms, and ready to defend themselves. On receiving this answer, Margaret usually calm and self-possessed, for the first time lost her temper, and in the moment of irritation, incautiously betrayed her real feelings towards the confederates, by exclaiming that it was the petition of the nobles which made these fellows so bold; adding, that such heretics only sought other men's lives and goods, and that their conduct would end in some fatal excesses^c. The second preaching was held as appointed, notwithstanding the efforts of the government of Antwerp to prevent it; and a decree, prohibiting all persons from attending any heretical meeting, was followed by a petition from the Reformers, to be allowed to build a place of worship within the town. This request was referred to the governess, but the only answer they obtained, was the adoption of still stricter measures to prevent the assemblies, and a proclamation issued by the council of state, directing the immediate seizure and punishment both of the preachers and their hearers. A second petition was, however, attended with somewhat better success, since the senate granted

^b Hooft, Nederl. Hist., b. iii., bl. 84.

^c Idem.

permission for one minister of the Augsburg confession 1566 **to preach** just without the walls. The government of **Antwerp** had repeatedly solicited Margaret to repair **thither**, in order by her presence to put an end to the **disturbances**; this she refused to do, unless attended **by a garrison** to ensure her safety, which the citizens **would by no means** allow. She therefore sent the **Prince of Orange**, as governor of the city, whose **popularity** would, she trusted, enable him to bring **affairs** to an amicable arrangement. The measures he **adopted** to restore confidence between the different **classes** of the citizens, were attended with considerable **success**, since no further disorders took place so long as **he remained**^k. Following the example of Oudenarde and Antwerp, the Reformers of nearly all the towns in Holland began to hold public meetings without the **walls**; sometimes beyond the jurisdiction of the municipal magistrates, sometimes in defiance of their prohibition, armed, and in such numbers as to preclude all hope of dispersing them by force^l.

Happy would it have been for the government, had it possessed sufficient prudence and temper to concede with a good grace that which it was impossible to avoid! Had it permitted the preaching of the Reformers, it might, together with its sanction, have imposed restrictions calculated to prevent the occurrence of such excesses as the populace, finding from the futile attempts made to put a stop to their assemblies how loosely the restraints of authority hung upon them, were now tempted to indulge in.

It happened that as a number of the Reformers at Ypres were proceeding armed to attend a sermon near the town, a sudden accession of zeal prompted them

^k Bor, boek ii., bl. 71—75. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 42.

^l Brandt, Hist. der Ref., boek vi., passim.

1566 to throw down and destroy the images of saints they met with on their road. Hence they proceeded to do the same with those in the churches and chapels in the neighbourhood; and from this slight impulse the movement spread with electric rapidity through Flanders, and all the other provinces of the Netherlands. The churches in nearly every town and village were attacked; the images and statues pulled down and broken to pieces; the altars overthrown; the monuments, and even the coffins of the dead, defaced; the mass-books torn; and the gold and silver ornaments plundered, except where the governments had anticipated the intentions of the rioters by removing them to a place of security. Neither did the superb carved work, the pictures, nor the exquisite painted glass of the windows, the unrivalled beauty of which was the wonder and admiration of Europe, escape the ravages of these barbarians. More than four hundred churches, among which were those of the Hague, Amsterdam, Leyden, Middleburgh, and Schoonhoven, were thus despoiled within the short space of three days. A great portion of the booty, however, was afterwards restored to the municipal authorities^m.

The governess received the intelligence of this sudden and unexpected burst of popular fury with feelings of mingled terror, grief, and rage. She instantly made preparations for a hasty flight to Mons, and was only dissuaded from her purpose by the entreaties of Viglius, and some others of her most confidential advisers, and the remonstrances of the burghers, who expressed their determination to shut the gates, in order to prevent her departure. She bewailed her unhappy fate, that under her government, such contumely should be offered to God and the king;

^m Meteren, boek ii., fol. 43. Hooft, boek iii., bl. 98, 99.

and in the bitterness of her heart wrote to her brother, 1566 saying, that she “was betrayed by the Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmond, Hoorn, and Hochstradt, and if it were not for the hopes of his coming, her sorrowful life would end; for that grief was in her heart, and a blush on her cheekⁿ.” These melancholy and disgraceful outrages seem, indeed, to have annihilated the small remains of tolerance in the breast of Margaret towards the Reformers; for, though fear afterwards induced her to grant them some concessions, she never entertained for them other feelings than those of implacable hostility.

It may be readily imagined that the effect of these transactions on the mind of Philip was still more intense than on that of his sister. Though confined to his bed by severe sickness, he insisted that all the deliberations of his council on the subject should be held in his presence. Here it was decided, that the mob who had pillaged the churches, the heretics who paid them, the nobles who protected and incited them, and the friends and servants of the nobles, were all links of the same chain, and as such, all equally liable to punishment; and letters were despatched to the governess, desiring her to hasten the equipment of three thousand horse and ten thousand foot, which the king had before commissioned Duke Eric of Brunswick to levy for his service in the Netherlands.

To an offer of mediation made by the Emperor Maximilian II. at this crisis, Philip replied, that “matters had now arrived at such a pitch, that they could only be arranged by arms^o.” In this disposition of mind, he was less than ever inclined to give a favourable reception to a petition transmitted to him.

ⁿ Bor, boek ii., bl. 85. Strada, dec. i., lib. v., p. 160.

^o Strada, dec. i., lib. v., p. 163, 164.

1566 by the Reformers of Antwerp, in the name of their brethren of the Netherlands, expressive of their detestation of the late outrages, which they affirmed were committed by the lowest of the people, women, and boys*. They besought the king to permit them the free exercise of their religion in such places as the government should appoint; offering, in return for this favour, to contribute 3,000,000 of guilders to redeem the charges on the sovereign domains. The latter clause in particular gave deep offence, being interpreted as a lure to draw the German princes to their service. It is, indeed, not improbable, that they may have designed, under cover of raising this sum, to collect funds for the purpose of hiring troops in case of need^p.

However embittered the spirit of Margaret might be, the necessity of her affairs, and the perilous position in which she stood, on the brink of a general revolt, obliged her to temporise. She consented to allow the preachings to be continued in places where they had already been held; and having received a well-timed answer from Spain to the requisitions sent through Bergen and Montigny, she declared to the confederate nobles the pleasure of the king, that the inquisition should cease, and a new edict against heresy be framed, but whether by the states general or not he had not decided; and that she was empowered to give them any security they desired, that they should not be vexed or disquieted on account of the compromise, provided they would dissolve the confederacy, and use

^p Strada, dec. i., lib. 5, p. 165, 166.

* This was not quite the fact. At Antwerp, where the fury was the most violent, a number of persons of respectable appearance, with pistols and short muskets under their cloaks, stood in the corners and bye-ways to protect the rioters; and attacked and scattered some of the burgher guards who attempted to seize them. Bor, book ii., bl. 84.

their utmost efforts to prevent tumult and disorder, and 1566 to bring the perpetrators of the late sacrilegious acts to punishment^a.

But the governess meant nothing less than to adhere to this agreement, any longer than circumstances obliged her to do so. She told some of her courtiers, with whom she was on terms of familiarity, that she had, against her will, and to avoid greater evils, permitted the heretics to hold their preachings, but she did not intend thereby to lessen her authority, or to neglect any means of lawful resistance against them. Unsuspicious of any double dealing, however, the frank-hearted Netherlanders received the boon with joy and gratitude; "thanking God that they were allowed to worship him according to their conscience, without fear of the inquisition, bishops, or edicts." They built themselves churches with incredible diligence and rapidity, in which they attended their public service unarmed, and with the greatest order and decorum; and although some attempts were made to renew the image breaking, the seditious were forthwith seized and punished^r.

The first circumstance which roused their suspicions was an embassy from the Prince de Condé and the Admiral Coligny, the heads of the Reformers in France, to the confederate nobles, advising them to make no agreement whatever with the governess, for they would surely find themselves deceived. They promised at the same time, that if the confederates required their assistance, 4000 volunteers of cavalry should be ready to enter the Netherlands within a month. Their offer was thankfully refused^s.

The warning thus received was confirmed by some

^a Bor, boek ii., bl. 95, 96.

^r Meteren, boek ii., fol. 46.

^s Bor, boek ii., bl. 98.

1566 letters which a friend of the Prince of Orange had intercepted, written to the governess by Don Francis d'Alava, the ambassador of the King of Spain at the French court; wherein he recommended her to show a favourable countenance to the Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn, until an opportunity should occur for treating them, the authors of all the mischief, as they deserved; he encouraged her to hope, that from the present unpromising state of affairs, the good effect would result to the king, of bringing the Netherlands to such a condition of obedience and submission, as none of his ancestors had as yet been able to do; for which purpose Philip himself would repair thither ere long, at the head of a powerful army, composed of the veteran troops of Italy. The Lord of Montigny likewise wrote to his brother, the Count of Hoorn, from Spain, informing him of the excessive anger of the king at the outrages of the Iconoclasts, and urging that some means might be devised to appease him before his departure for the Netherlands. At this doubtful crisis, Orange, Egmond, and Hoorn, met together at Dendermonde, with Louis of Nassau and the Count of Hochstradt, to consider of their present situation, and the course of conduct now to be pursued, when each gave a different opinion, suitable to his character. Louis of Nassau, bold, ardent, and enterprizing, recommended the adoption of prompt and determined measures for their defence. Orange, prudent and cautious, thought the wiser plan would be to retire from the country; while Egmond, already weary of the turmoil in which he had involved himself, and sickening at the loss of court favour, advised that, without taking alarm at the letters of d'Alava, they should strive to convince the king of their zeal for his service, by their efforts to

preserve the peace, and their entire submission to his 1566 ordinances. His decision, unhappily for himself and his friends, prevailed, which, indeed, as he possessed unbounded influence with the troops, it was vain to oppose^t. He undertook to demand an explanation of the letters from the governess, when she either denied all knowledge of the matters alluded to in them, or put an entirely opposite interpretation on such parts as she was unable to disown. With her excuses, such as they were, Egmond allowed himself to be pacified. The Count of Hoorn, shortly after, had drawn up a full justification of his conduct in his government of Tournay, retired to his house at Weert; and the Prince of Orange, whose presence had been repeatedly solicited by the Hollanders, obtained permission of the governess to visit his stadtholderate. Soon after his arrival, the states of Holland proposed to confer on him a gift of 55,000 guilders, which he refused, observing, that the public money might be better applied in these calamitous times. He made regulations for the performance of the reformed service, both Calvinist and Lutheran, under certain restrictions, and endeavoured, but without success, to induce the Reformers to be satisfied with churches outside the walls of the towns^u.

The difference of opinion between the heads of the popular party was an effective auxiliary to Margaret, in following the advice given her by Philip, to aim at the breaking up of the confederacy, by sowing mistrust and dissensions among its members. With this view, she held out to those of the Catholic religion

^t Bor, boek ii., bl. 108—112. Verantwoordinge voor den Grave van Hoorn. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 48.

^u Resol. Holl., 1566, bl. 58, 60. Hooft, Nederl. Hist., boek iii., bl. 118.

1566 promises of the king's speedy arrival, and of the clemency and favour he would show towards them in particular. Philip, likewise, wrote to several among them in the most gracious terms, especially the Prince of Orange, to whom he addressed a letter in his own hand, containing expressions of entire confidence and affection, and begging him (in answer to a request he had made some time before, to be dismissed from his employments) not to desert his service in this difficult crisis, but to cease for a while his intimacy with his brother, Louis, whose loyalty was suspected. In consequence of the blandishments and solicitations of Philip and the governess, above a third part of the confederate nobles, among whom was the Count of Egmond, were induced to abandon the common cause^v.

The important preliminary of dissolving the confederacy being thus accomplished, Margaret, under pretext of punishing the seditious and image-breakers, gave orders for levying, besides the German soldiers under Eric of Brunswick, two more regiments, under Count Philip of Oversteyn, with five of native troops, of which two were Walloons*. Thus supported, she felt it no longer necessary to disguise her real intentions. She placed troops at the disposal of the stadtholders of the provinces, with commands to seize and punish all those concerned in the late disorders, and to distribute garrisons in the principal towns of their governments. On the refusal of the citizens of Valenciennes to admit the soldiers within their walls, pleading that it was a violation of their privileges, she ordered Philip de St. Aldegonde, lord of Noircarmes, to lay

^v Strada, dcc. i., lib. v., p. 173. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 47. Autthen. Stuk., bl. 17.

* The name of Walloon provinces is generally given to Hainault, Artois, and French Flanders, where the French language is spoken.

siege to the town, and publicly proclaimed them traitors. The performance of the reformed services was forbidden in most of the provinces, and the ministers seized and imprisoned. To a remonstrance of the confederate nobles on the subject, Margaret replied, that she had, with great reluctance, granted the heretics liberty to preach, but she did not understand that they were to perform the ceremony of marriage and other rites appertaining only to the true church^w.

The next measure adopted by the governess was to 1567 propose a new oath to all the members of the council of state, to the effect, that they should use their utmost endeavours to uphold the Catholic church, to punish the sacrilegious, and extirpate heresy; and that they should treat as enemies all those whom she declared such in the king's name. It was determined that all who refused to take this oath should be deprived of their offices; by which means, such as did not take it, were removed from affairs, while the governess secured the co-operation of those who did. Egmond and most of the other nobles readily accepted it; the Prince of Orange, Brederode, Hoorn, and Hochstradt, declined, and the latter was in consequence commanded to surrender his government of Mechlin. To the prince Margaret sent a private ambassador, urging and even entreating him to conform to her wishes on this point; he, however, steadily refused. A similar oath, he objected, had never been imposed on any stadtholder, and his accepting it would appear like an acknowledgment that he had previously failed in his duty; he had sworn to preserve the privileges of his provinces, and if any thing were commanded by the king detrimental to them, he should be embarrassed

^w Bor, boek ii., bl. 144—150. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 47.

1567 by two oaths of a contrary nature; it was incompatible, also, with the feudal allegiance he owed to the Emperor of Germany; and, lastly, in swearing to prosecute heretics, he should bind himself to denounce his own wife and her family, who were Lutherans*. He accompanied his refusal with a request that another stadtholder might be appointed in his room. The office was afterwards conferred on Maximilian, count of Bossn^x.

The popular party had been daily losing the ground thus gained by the court. The outrages committed on the churches, though disowned and deprecated by the better class of Reformers, cast, nevertheless, a stigma on the whole body, and had alienated from them the minds of their Catholic allies, of whom many were now inclined to admit, that a necessity existed for the inquisition and the penal edicts. On the other hand, the activity which the principal among the confederates had shown in chastising the rioters, had rather excited against them the hatred of the populace, who conceived that the punishment of their excesses argued a desertion of their cause, than reassured the Catholics. The Reformers, moreover, divided amongst themselves, could not be induced to act heartily together for the purpose of averting the common danger. They were generally considered as forming three principal sects, of which the Anabaptist was composed chiefly of the lower ranks of people, and, except in Friezland, comparatively small in number. The Lutherans, or as they were generally called, Protestants of the Augsburg confession, were the most

^x Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 190, 191.

* He had married, about two years before, Anne, daughter of Maurice, elector of Saxony.

influential from their station and property ; while the 1567 Calvinists, by far the most numerous, active, and zealous, were proportionably detested by the court and Catholic clergy. Each of these sects viewed the others with no less hatred and mistrust than they did the Catholics, whom the Lutherans, in fact, sometimes supported against their brother Reformers, in the civil broils of the towns. Neither was this feeling confined to the Reformers of the Netherlands, since the German Protestant princes refused to comply with their solicitations for aid, unless the Calvinists would first subscribe to the Augsburg confession ; a condition which, it may be readily supposed, was rejected*.

Added to these causes of division among the members of the popular party, was the entire separation which had now taken place between its leaders, the Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmond. The former had the advantage of the latter, inasmuch as he possessed a knowledge of the real views and designs of the Spanish court, by means of a spy he entertained there, in the person of one John of Castile, clerk to Andreas de las Layas, the king's secretary, who, for a pension of 300 crowns, betrayed to the prince all the secrets of his master ; and as nearly the whole of the Netherland affairs in Spain were entrusted to the hands of this minister, the traitor had ample means of communicating to the prince all the information he

* Hooft, boek iii., bl. 112, 122, 123. Bor, boek iii., bl. 158.

* The Duke of Wirtemberg, one of the heads of the Augsburg confession, had even gone so far as to promise the Duke of Guise, the bitter persecutor of the Reformers in France, to unite with the Catholics in preventing the spread of the Calvinistic doctrines, provided the work of purifying the Romish Church were not neglected, and that the punishments and proscriptions of the Lutherans should cease.—Thuanus, lib. xxix., cap. 9.

1567 desired². Orange, therefore, knew full well that no safety remained for him except in flight, or in arms; but professing the Catholic religion, and dreading lest he should appear to countenance the excesses of the Reformers, he pursued a vacillating course of policy, at one time joining in preparations for active resistance to the government, at another zealously obeying its orders, and assisting in the suppression of disturbances. Egmond, in impoverished circumstances, and dependent for support on the emoluments of his offices, either felt or feigned implicit reliance on the promises of the king, whose merciful and benevolent disposition he made the constant theme of his discourse. At this time he seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to expiate his former offences by his present devotion to the service of the court, displaying the greatest activity in abolishing the reformed worship, punishing heretics, and forcing the towns throughout his government of Flanders to receive garrisons. Henry van Brederode, more perhaps from necessity than inclination, remained faithful to the cause he had espoused. A direct descendant in the male line from the ancient Counts of Holland*, his title to the sovereignty of the county, was considered by many to be preferable to that of the reigning prince, and he was accused by his enemies of directing his views to the seat of his forefathers; he had been the promoter, and most active member of the confederacy†: was a sincere and zealous Protestant; and from his illustrious descent, joined to his

* Bor, boek xvi., bl. 288.

* Bor, boek iii., bl. 145. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 48.

* His ancestor was Siward, or Sigefrid, younger son of Arnold, third Count of Holland.—See Part I., chap. 1.

† Vide p. 520.

brave and generous disposition, was as much beloved 1567 by the people, if less revered, than Orange and Egmond. For these reasons he was peculiarly obnoxious at court, and finding himself shut out from all hopes of a reconciliation, he made active preparations for hostilities. He fortified the town of Vianen, a part of his patrimonial demesnes, provided it with heavy artillery, supplied to him for the purpose from Utrecht by the Prince of Orange, and placed within it a garrison of 3000 men^b.

Troops were also levied by the Lord of Tholen, and a few other confederate nobles, who made an attempt to possess themselves of Flushing, which being unsuccessful, they retired to Oosterwel near Antwerp. Here they were attacked by some companies under Philip de Lannoy, lord of Beauvais, and the Count of Egmond, defeated, and dispersed, Tholen himself being slain. A similar fate befel a band of 3000 Reformers, who marched from Tournay with the purpose of throwing succours into Valenciennes. This city, which had been besieged since the November of the previous year, now surrendered at discretion, when 200 of the inhabitants were put to death by Mar. command of the Lord of Noircarmes^c. To add to 24. the consternation occasioned by these disasters, a report was universally spread through the Netherlands, that the king being unable to visit them in person, was about to send thither the Duke of Alva at the head of a large army of Spaniards and Italians. Taking advantage of the general terror, the governess adroitly gave the stadtholders and the magistrates of the towns to understand, that the king's wrath would be appeased, and the army withheld, if the heretics were finally put to silence. In consequence of this hint, the reformed

^b Bor, boek iii., bl. 147.

^c Meteren, boek ii., fol. 50.

1567 service was rapidly abolished through the whole country; the churches everywhere broken down, and not unfrequently gibbets made of the materials.

Such was the state of affairs, when an interview was once more brought about between the Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmond at Willebroeck. Here the prince represented to Egmond, in urgent and forcible terms, the destruction that would ensue to them from the invasion of the Spanish army, and besought him either to enter into a general league with the nobles to oppose their coming, or to seek for safety in flight. But in spite of his prayers and entreaties, Egmond obstinately rejected both these measures, observing, that from the active part he had taken in the punishment of the image-breakers and heretics, he had everything to hope from the mercy of the king. "Your hope then is fallacious," replied Orange, in a tone of melancholy prophecy, "you will but serve as the bridge for the Spaniards to pass over into the Netherlands, which as soon as they have passed, they will destroy^{d*}. The two nobles separated with mutual tears and embraces, and shortly after, the prince retired to his territory of Nassau in Germany, leaving his son Philip, count of Buuren, at the university of Louvain. Brederode, then at Amsterdam, being warned of the approaching danger, took refuge in Cleves, where he died the following year. After his departure, Vianen,

^d Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 208.

* The popular story that Egmond took leave of the prince in these terms "Adieu prince sans terre!" and that Orange replied, "Adieu comte sans tête!" rests solely on the authority of Aubery du Maurier, the account of their separation being given by the contemporary historians as in the text. The character of both, indeed, renders it highly improbable that they should have indulged in such coarse and cruel irony, on so mournful an occasion.

and the rest of his demesnes, were occupied and pillaged by the troops of Count Eric of Brunswick^c. pil- 1567

The governess having thus obtained the full gratification of her wishes in the punishment of the heretics and the abolition of their worship, earnestly besought the king to grant her full powers to proclaim a general pardon, and that he would abandon his purpose of sending an army into the Netherlands; a measure which had now, she said, become wholly unnecessary, since all the principal towns had received garrisons, the seditious were punished, and the reformed churches everywhere destroyed^f.

Far different, however, were the resolutions which prevailed in the Spanish council. Of this body three members alone, Roderic Gomez di Silva, the Duke di Feria, and the Cardinal Fresnada, advocated the cause of mercy; the remainder, among whom the most influential were Alvarez di Toledo, duke of Alva, and the Cardinal of Granvelle, used their utmost endeavours in urging on Philip to those severities, to which he was already but too well inclined. In compliance with their exhortations, supported by those of the pope, he declared his intention of marching in person at the head of his army, to chastise the rebels in the Netherlands, and he even made some preparations for his journey; but the affairs of Spain were not at this time in a condition to admit of his absence. The disaffected in that country only waited for a leader to break out into open revolt, and he feared lest, if he left his eldest son, Don Carlos, behind him, they would immediately adopt him as such; while, as he had been heard to express sympathy for the misfortunes of the Netherlanders, his presence among them was equally

^c Bor, boek iii., bl. 169.

^f Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 201, 208.

1567 hazardous. In this perplexity Philip came to the fatal determination of entrusting the command of the forces, with almost unlimited power, into the hands of the Duke of Alva, a man who, as he had been foremost in advising, was well fitted for executing measures of harshness and severity. An able and experienced general, a devoted and unscrupulous servant of his sovereign, and a stern bigot in religion, he was one to whom the quality of mercy was unknown. The king commanded the governors of Sicily, Sardinia and Milan, to place all the veteran troops stationed in the fortresses there at his disposal; the clergy and members of the inquisition advanced contributions, as for a holy war; and the Spanish nobles, eager at once to extirpate the heretics, and to enrich themselves with their spoils, volunteered in numbers to accompany the expedition. The duke, embarking for Italy with two of his sons, Don Frederic and Don Ferdinand de Toledo, arrived at Genoa on the 17th of May^b. Shortly after his departure the Marquis of Bergen, who had been sent with the Lord de Montigny as ambassador to Spain, died suddenly, either from grief at the unhappy condition of his country, or, as it was believed, from poison administered by an order of the kingⁱ.

Dread and despair seized the Netherlanders at the news of Alva's approach. Nobles, merchants, labourers, and artizans were mingled in one general and precipitate flight; vessels of all nations in the ports were crowded with exiles hurrying from their native shores; and a prohibition issued by the governess, to prevent all persons, under pain of confiscation of their goods

^a Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 202.

^b Meteren, boek iii., fol. 53.

ⁱ This, however, is strenuously denied by the friends of the court. Strada, lib. vi., p. 209.

from quitting their homes without permission of the 1567 authorities of the place where they resided, served but to increase the evil. Men fled with the greater haste and secrecy, often leaving their wives and families and the whole of their property to the mercy of their persecutors. Thousands sought refuge in England, Germany, and Denmark; the name of "beggars," a name given in scorn, and borne in pride, became but too true an appellation; the high-born, the wealthy, and the learned, were beheld wandering about in foreign lands and begging their bread. They still wore the dress and retained the badge of "Gueux," in token of their devotion to the cause for which they suffered, and the hope they cherished of being one day restored to their beloved country^k.

The utter annihilation of the popular party at this period, proves how erroneous is the assertion of the jesuit Strada and others, who state that the revolt of the Netherlands was to be attributed, not to the inquisition or the introduction of the new bishops, but solely to the machinations of some impoverished and disappointed nobles^l. In the first formation of the confederacy the nobles rather obeyed than excited the popular impulse which, instead of contributing to sustain, they, by their vacillation and dissensions served but to divide and weaken. So far as they were concerned, the movement was now entirely at an end; and it is to their selfishness, treachery, or inconstancy, that the temporary ruin of the people's cause is to be ascribed.

^k Bor, boek iii., bl. 172, 176. Meteren, boek ii., fol. 51.

^l Strada, dec. i., lib. ii., p. 47.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. Arrest of the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn. Establishment of the Council of Troubles. Resignation of the Governess Margaret. Severities exercised by the Council, Remonstrance of Holland. Desertion of the Netherlands. Wild Gueux. Outlawry of the Prince of Orange. His Son carried Prisoner to Spain. Commencement of Hostilities. Battle of Heyligerlee. Execution of Egmond and Hoorn. Battle of Jemmingen. Campaign in the Netherlands of the Prince of Orange—unsuccessful. Statue of Alva at Antwerp. His arbitrary Government. Opposition of Leyden. Animosity of the Queen of England towards Alva. Seizure of the Treasure sent to the Netherlands. Alva attempts to levy the Tenth. Consents to a Substitution. Proceedings of the Prince of Orange. Petition of the Netherland Exiles to the Diet at Spires. Amnesty. Flood. Gueux expelled the Ports of England. Capture of Briel. Second attempt to levy the Tenth—at Brussels. Siege of Briel by the Spaniards. Gueux take possession of Flushing. Capture of Merchant Ships. Duke of Medina-Celi arrives in the Netherlands. Louis of Nassau obtains succours from France. Surprises Mons. Revolt of the Province of Holland. Assembly of the States there. Siege and reduction of Mons by Alva. Sack of Mechlin. Siege of Goes raised by the Gueux. Prince of Orange in Holland. Pillage of Zutphen. Massacre of Naarden. Siege of Haarlem; of Akimaar. Natal Victory of the Gueux. Assembly of the States-general. Recall of Alva. His Character. Cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

1567 THE Duke of Alva was delayed some time on his journey to the Netherlands, first at Genoa, by a severe fit of sickness, and afterwards in Savoy, by letters from the governess, who once more endeavoured to divert the king from his purpose, representing the pacified and submissive condition of the country, and that the presence of the Spanish army would only awaken fresh disturbances. One hundred thousand persons, she urged, had already quitted the

Netherlands, and it was to be feared that if the deser- 1567
tion continued, the provinces would be entirely depopulated. Her remonstrances were attended with no other effect than an order from Philip to the Duke of Alva, to hasten his march as much as possible. The Netherlands, concealing their dread under a show of courtesy, or with a faint hope of propitiating their foe, prepared to receive him with every demonstration of joy; the Count of Egmond, with some other nobles, even advanced as far as Luxemburg to bid him welcome. His reception of them was such as might have awakened their fears under far less perilous circumstances. As the Count of Egmond presented himself he exclaimed aloud, "Here comes the arch heretic!" and replied to their expressions of congratulation, "Welcome or not, it is all one; here I am^a."

In the month of August the Duke entered the Netherlands, at the head of an army of 19,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, composed of Spaniards, Italians, Savoyards, and Germans, the greater portion of them veteran troops, and in a high state of discipline. Besides his commission as captain-general, he was furnished by the king with another private commission, by which he was empowered to remove and appoint stadtholders of provinces, and all other public officers, to build forts and citadels, to levy such funds as were necessary for the support of his troops, and to seek out and punish heretics and seditious persons. On being asked by the governess if he had any farther instructions, he insolently replied, that he would produce them as occasion required. Though deeply hurt at this treatment, Margaret, well knowing that a word from her, expressive of dissatisfaction, would be sufficient to throw the whole of the provinces into a state of uproar, took no farther

^a Meteren, boek iii., fol. 53, 54. Bor., boek iv., bl. 182.

1567 notice of it, than immediately to write to the king, requesting her dismissal^b.

Sep. 9. Having placed his troops in garrison in the towns of Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, of which he obliged the citizens to deliver up the keys, Alva resolved upon executing without delay those projects of vengeance which the king had long secretly cherished; and for this the blind confidence of his intended victims soon gave him an opportunity. He summoned a general assembly of the council of state at Brussels, when the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn appearing among others, were received with every appearance of friendship, and admitted to several interviews with the duke at the house of Culemburg, where he resided. On one occasion, the conference being prolonged to a late hour of the day, the Count of Egmond was preparing to depart, when he was invited into a side apartment, as if for the purpose of a private communication. On his entrance, he was immediately arrested by some Spanish soldiers, under the command of Don Frederic di Toledo and Sanchio d'Avila. At the first moment he changed countenance, and appeared struck with dismay, but quickly recovering himself, he surrendered his sword with composure, observing, "That sword has, ere now, done the king good service." The Count of Hoorn at the same time was made prisoner in another part of the building, by Don Ferdinand di Toledo. John Casembrot, lord of Backerseel, secretary to the Count of Egmond, and the secretary of the Count of Hoorn, Alonzo de la Loo, were likewise seized, together with all the principal officers and servants belonging to their household, and the whole of their papers. The Count of Hochstradt, being delayed by an accident on his

^b Cesare Campana, *Guerre di Fiandre*, lib. ii., p. 31—33. Strada, lib. vi., p. 214.

road to Brussels, received a timely warning from the fate 1567 of his companions to proceed no farther. Egmond and Hoorn, after remaining some days confined at Brussels, were conducted prisoners to Ghent, under an escort of three thousand Spanish soldiers*. Although this act had been done without the consent or knowledge of the governess, and was, in fact, a flagrant contempt of her authority, Alva deemed no farther apology necessary, than a declaration that he had forborne to consult her, because he was desirous of saving her from the obloquy with which it must necessarily be attended^c.

The subsequent measures of the duke sufficiently testified that he was prepared to carry out to the fullest extent the counsels he had given his sovereign, not to lose so fair a pretext for breaking at once the seals of all the charters of the Netherlands,—badges of the weakness of his ancestors—disgraceful chains upon the prince, and sources of disaffection to the people,—and placing a sharp bridle in the mouth of the conquered provinces^{d†}. Not content with enforcing the inquisition and the penal edicts in their utmost rigour, he annihilated at one fell blow, all the privileges and liberties which the Netherlanders had so hardly won and so deeply cherished, by the erection of a council, which he called the Council of Troubles, but which soon merited and received the name of the Council of Blood. This council consisted of twelve members, at

^c Bor, boek iv., bl. 184, 185. Hooft, boek iv., bl. 142. ^d Idem.

* It was said that when the Cardinal of Granvelle heard that Alva had the principal of the Netherland nobles in his power, he inquired “whether they had caught the Taciturn?” (a nickname given to the Prince of Orange,) and being answered in the negative; “Ah then,” he replied, “if *he* is not in the net, Alva has caught nothing.” Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 216.

† The king had obtained of the pope absolution from the oath he had taken at his accession. Bor, Autthen. Stuk., tom. i., bl. 6.

1567 the head of whom was a Spaniard, John di Vargas, a man so notorious for his cruelty, that it was generally received saying among his countrymen, that "to cut away the gangrene of heresy from the Netherlands, it was necessary to have a knife like Vargas." Closely associated with him, both by family connection and similarity of disposition, was Jacob Hessels, of whom it is reported, that he took no other part in the debates, during which he generally slept, than when the votes were given to cry out, "To the gibbet! to the gibbet*!" As all those in whom fanaticism or cupidity had not extinguished every spark of human feeling, soon retired from the council in disgust at its barbarous and tyrannical proceedings, the whole authority was left in the hands of these two, and Louis del Rio, a Spanish priest^e.

Such was the character of the men to whom was committed absolute power over the lives, persons, and property of the Netherlanders; for though Alva reserved to himself the final decision of all questions discussed by them, he rarely failed to consent to whatever they proposed. The jurisdiction of all the native tribunals was superseded; the authority of the council of state annihilated; and the rights, privileges, and customs of the provinces declared mischievous and invalid^f. The governess perceiving herself deprived, by the establishment of the new council, of even the shadow of authority, peremptorily insisted on her dismissal, which was granted with ample expressions of

^e Meteren, boek iii., fol. 54. Hooft, boek xiv., bl. 594.

^f Meteren, boek, iii., fol. 54.

* This miscreant ultimately suffered the same fate he was so ready to inflict on others; he was hanged to a tree by the people of Ghent during some commotions which occurred there in 1578. Met., boek viii., fol. 161.

approbation of her government, and a present of 30,000 1567 crowns, with an annuity of 20,000 for life^g.

With her departed the last glimmering ray of hope from the hearts of the unhappy Netherlanders. She had never, until her anger was roused by the public preachings of the Reformers and the excesses of the image-breakers, enforced the persecuting edicts, but after vehement remonstrances to the king, and in obedience to his repeated and pressing importunities^{*}; she constantly dissuaded Philip from having recourse to violent measures, and, on the other hand, sincerely endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the discontented nobles. Her just indignation at the outrages committed on the churches, and her real alarm for the welfare of the Catholic religion, once appeased by the punishment of the seditious and the dispersion of the heretical assemblies, she soon returned to those better and gentler impulses by which she had before been swayed. She left no means untried to prevent the invasion of the Spanish army; and even after the arrival of Alva, smothering her own feelings of wounded pride at the style of his coming, she advised him to disband the greater part of his troops, and rather to regain the good will of the Netherlanders by kind treatment, than attempt to subdue them by force^h. In her last letter to the king, she made one more effort to move his pity, and soften his heart to the miseries of his subjects: "I pray and conjure you," she writes, "that, mindful of your own and the divine mercy, vengeance may be confined to few, and that

^g Bor, boek iv., bl. 168.

^h Meteren, boek iii., fol. 54.

^{*} Philip's commands to Margaret were imperative, to use her utmost efforts to extirpate the heretics, amongst whom he seemed to know the age, condition, and opinions of each individual. See extracts from his private letters in Strada, dec. i., lib. iv., p. 100.

1567 you will prefer the repentance to the punishment of your people¹." With these dispositions it is most probable that, had time been permitted her, her measures of conciliation would have proved as successful as her measures of coercion had been effective. Had Philip not committed the grave and fatal political error of removing her from the government at this juncture, or had he even then condescended to abide by her counsels, there is little doubt that he might have prevented the crimes and miseries of ensuing years, and transmitted these valuable dominions in wealth and peace to his posterity.

Freed at length from the semblance of a superior authority, and from the restraints which the mere presence of the governess imposed, the Duke of Alva, who, on her resignation, was appointed governor-general, and his council of troubles began to execute their decrees with appalling severity. They had declared guilty of high treason all who had not used their utmost endeavours to prevent the pillage of the churches or the preachings of the heretics ; all who had supported the petitions against the bishops, edicts, and inquisition ; all who had expressed approbation of the confederacy of the nobles who had worn the badges, or pledged to the health of the "Gueux;" and all who had at any time pleaded the national privileges in opposition to the commands of the sovereign. Thus, scarcely an individual in the whole country was safe. The rich were summoned before the council twenty and thirty together; the property of such as did not appear was immediately confiscated; those who did were invariably condemned, dragged at the tail of a horse to the place of execution, and hanged. The poor were seized at once, cruelly tortured, and put to

¹ Strada, dec. i., lib. vi., p. 219.

death, without even the form of a trial^k. The whole 1567
land was crowded with gibbets: the trees by the way-
side were loaded with corpses; and bodies fastened to
stakes, burnt, mangled, and headless, met the eye in
every direction. The living walked among the dead as
in a charnel house. From the judgments of this
terrible tribunal there was no appeal, in its execu-
tions no mercy. More than eighteen hundred persons
perished within the space of a few weeks by the hand
of the executioner. The citizens of Antwerp having
ventured to remonstrate against these cruelties, were
sharply told by the duke, that he was astonished any
one should be found so bold as to intercede for heretics,
and if they did not take heed, they would all be put to
death as an example to others; adding, that the king
would rather see the whole country a desert, than
permit a single heretic to remain in it^l. It was a
wretched source of consolation, that those magistrates
who had been foremost in the work of persecution
fared no better than the rest, several being put to
death on the accusation of negligence, and connivance
with the heretics^m.

The governments of all the towns where any disturbances had occurred were obliged to justify themselves before the council of blood as to the cause of their not having been prevented; and the pensionaries and advocates of many of the provinces, as well as of the towns, were seized and brought before the same tribunal. Among the rest, Jacob van der Einde, pensionary of Holland, was arrested by the Lord of Bossu, who had invited him to his house under a show of friendship, and sent prisoner to Brussels, together with all the papers, public and private, found in his posses-

^k Hooft, boek iv., bl. 152. Meteren, boek iii., fol. 55.

^l Bor, boek iv., bl. 220, 211.

^m Hooft, boek iv., bl. 153.

1567 sion. He was accused before the council of blood of having been present at the requisition made to the king on his departure, to withdraw the Spanish troops from the Netherlands. On this occasion the Hollanders showed, that even in these times of terror and abasement, their ancient spirit had not quite deserted them. They sent several burgomasters and magistrates to Brussels to demand the release of their advocate, and the surrender of the public documents; adding the intelligible hint, that until the latter were returned, it was impossible either to levy the public imposts, or to pass the receiver's accounts. John van Treslong, pleaded the cause of the pensionary so boldly, that he was seized and detained a whole day in custody; upon which the others, fearing for their own safety so near the court, returned to Holland. Alva, tyrannical and reckless as he was, did not venture to push matters to extremity; but the council, unwilling to release their captive, prolonged the trial until the next year, when van Einde died in prison. After his death he was acquitted, and his property freed from sequestration^a.

These violent and sanguinary proceedings occasioned, as may well be imagined, a daily increasing desertion of the Netherlands, in spite of the preventive edict of the late governess; and as many of the fugitives volunteered in the service of the Huguenots, in the civil war now 1568 raging in France, Alva decreed immediate outlawry and confiscation of goods against such as left their homes without permission; and shortly after forbade, under the same penalty, any communication to be held with the exiles. A portion of the miserable inhabitants, driven by desperation to seek refuge in the woods of West Flanders, and depending for their subsistence on plunder, became a terror to the country,

^a Bor, boek iv., bl. 209—211.

under the name of Wild Gueux, exercising their ven- 1568
geance principally on the priests and monks, whom
they robbed, and frequently put to death with cruel
tortures. The Duke of Alva attempted to put a stop
to their excesses, by making each parish responsible for
the safety of its clergy; but as this proved ineffectual,
he despatched a band of soldiers into Flanders, by
whom the Wild Gueux were quickly extirpated°.

About four months subsequently to the arrest of
the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn, a citation was
issued, summoning the Prince of Orange, his brother,
Count Louis of Nassau, the Count of Hochstradt, the
Lord of Brederode, and others of the nobility, to
appear before the duke in council, within three terms
of fourteen days each; and on their non-appearance,
they were condemned to death as guilty of high
treason. Vargas likewise, by order of Alva, seized
the prince's son, the Count of Buuren, a child of
thirteen years of age, then at the high school of Lou-
vain. The governors in vain protested against such a
violation of the privileges of the university; Vargas
vouchsafed them no other reply than a single sentence,
of which it were difficult to determine, whether the
language or the sentiment it was intended to convey
was most offensive to the worthy professors, "*Non
curamus vestros privilegios.*" The young count was
sent prisoner to Spain, where he was detained nearly
thirty years. Both the Prince of Orange and the
Count of Hochstradt, answered the citation in writing,
protesting against the competency of the court to try
them, on the ground of their being knights of the
Golden Fleece, and liable to be cited only before their
peers. The prince, likewise, as a member of the
empire, obtained the intercession of the emperor and

° Bor, boek iv., bl. 124.

1568 princes of Germany; but Philip merely replied to the ambassador sent by Maximilian for this purpose, that he had given the Duke of Alva an unlimited commission to execute his wishes concerning the affairs of the Netherlands^p.

As Alva now apprehended some hostile attempts on the part of the fugitive nobles, and that peace having been declared between the Huguenots and government of France, the German Protestant princes who had assisted the former, would turn their arms against himself, he fortified the frontier towns, and hastened the completion of a strong citadel he had begun some time before at Antwerp, with a view of keeping the inhabitants of Brabant in subjection. His army was reinforced by the return of 1200 horse, and 2000 foot, whom he had sent under the Count of Aremberg as auxiliaries to the king of France, and he likewise took into his pay the whole of the Italian cavalry discharged from the service of that monarch, and levied 2000 recruits among the Walloons^q.

The Prince of Orange, on his side, convinced that no hope of returning to his country, or delivering it from oppression, remained but in arms, invested his brother Louis with a commission "to enter the Netherlands with an army, for the purpose of restoring freedom, and liberty of conscience to the inhabitants, and of preserving the provinces for the king in their former prosperous condition^r." Before he proceeded to this last irrevocable step, he published a long and able manifesto, justifying all his acts since the accession of the king, enumerating his services both before and after that period, and proving that the present disorders were to be attributed, not to his own ambition as his

^p Bor, boek iv., bl. 222, 227. Autthen. Stuk., bl. 19.

^q Meteren, boek iii., fol. 57. ^r Bor, boek iv., bl. 233.

enemies falsely asserted, but to the mal-administration 1568 of Granvelle, and the attempts of the Spaniards to reduce the Netherlands to slavery, by the introduction of the inquisition^a.*.

The German princes, chagrined at the haughty refusal of their mediation by Philip, and jealous of the near neighbourhood of so large a number of Spanish troops, readily granted their aid to the fugitive nobles. It was the design of the confederates, to commence hostilities on several quarters at once, in order, by that means, to embarrass Alva, and encourage the inhabitants to join their standard. But before the Prince of Orange was in a sufficient state of preparation, Louis of Nassau entered the province of Groningen at the head of some hastily-levied troops. The duke immediately despatched the Count of Aremberg with about one thousand Spanish and Italian, and five hundred German infantry, to oppose his advance; but Louis had already mastered the small fort of Wedde, and reduced Appingadam. Fearing, however, to await the attack of the disciplined troops of D'Aremberg, he commenced his retreat, pursued by the enemy, to the village of Heyligerlee. Here the Spanish soldiers, imagining that the retreat of Louis was in fact a flight, forced their general to a battle before the arrival of the cavalry which was coming up, under the Count of

^a Bor, boek iv., bl. 233. Autthen. Stuk., deel. i., bl. 3.

* According to Grotius (Ann., lib. ii., p. 42), he declares in this manifesto his abandonment of the Catholic religion; but I have remarked no expression that can be so interpreted. In the commission given to his brother, indeed, he says that the penal edicts were enacted for the purpose of rooting out "the pure word and service of God."—Bor, boek iv., bl. 233. An air of mystery is thrown by historians over the exact time of William's conversion to the reformed religion, which, however, seems to have been effected during the period between his flight from the Netherlands, and his proscription by Alva.

1568 **Megen.** The consequence was an entire victory on the side of the Gueux; the Count D'Aremberg himself being slain with 600 men, and all his baggage and plate, and six pieces of artillery, taken. Louis lost only a few men in this action, but among them was his young brother, the Count Adolphus of Nassau. Unfortunately, instead of pushing on at once to Friesland, where crowds of the disaffected would probably have joined his standard, Louis consumed his time in a vain attempt to reduce Groningen, for which he possessed neither sufficient troops nor artillery[†].

On intelligence of this defeat, the Duke of Alva, whether in revenge of the death of the Count D'Aremberg, who stood high in his esteem, or because he wished to employ in active service the troops occupied in guarding the prisons, resolved upon the immediate execution of all the nobles then in confinement. On the 1st of June, eighteen noble captives, from among the most illustrious families in the Netherlands, were beheaded in the horse-market at Brussels, and the bodies of seven of them, who had died without confession, fastened to stakes and left to perish on the public highway[‡]. The trial of the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn had been commenced in the early part of the year, before Vargas and Louis del Rio, members of the council of blood, and conducted in a manner so arbitrary and unconstitutional, as to leave the question of their guilt or innocence wholly out of view. Egmond, the possessor of large estates in Brabant, was properly amenable to the supreme court of that duchy; and the Count of Hoorn, the principal portion of whose lands lay in Germany, had a right to be considered as a subject of the empire; both, likewise, appealed to their

[†] Campana, *Guerre di Fiandre*, lib. iii., p. 38, 43—46.

[‡] Meteren, *boek iii.*, fol. 58.

privilege of being tried only by their peers, as knights 1568 of the Golden Fleece. Their plea was disregarded; they were neither confronted with the witnesses, nor allowed a copy of the depositions; and were refused permission either to hold private interviews with their attornies, or to employ counsel in their defence. By this mockery of a trial, they were found guilty upon an indictment, Egmond of ninety, Hoorn of sixty different counts; the greater number of so frivolous a nature, that it seems wonderful how any tribunal could have been found, gravely to sustain them. The only ones of any importance were, that they had favoured and promoted the detestable conspiracy of the Prince of Orange; that they had afforded their protection to the confederate nobles; and that they had ill-served both the king and the church in their stadtholderates and other offices. They were condemned to death, notwithstanding the earnest intercession of the emperor, the elector palatine, and several German princes in their favour^v.

On the evening of the fourth of June, the Duke of Alva summoned the Bishop of Ypres, Martin Ryhoven, to his presence, and commanded him to prepare the Count of Egmond for death the next day. The bishop fell on his knees, and bursting into tears, implored, in accents of the most humble entreaty, that the count's life might be spared, or at least that the execution might be delayed. "I did not bring you from Ypres," answered Alva fiercely, "to change or defer the sentence, but to confess the criminal." On the delivery of the sentence, which was drawn out by Hessels, and signed by Alva alone, Egmond asked if there was no hope; and being informed by the bishop of what had passed, began to prepare himself calmly for death.

^v Bor, Authh. Stuk., decl. i., bl. 49, et seq.

1568 He wrote a farewell letter to his wife, to whom he was fondly attached, and another to the king, recommending her and his children to his mercy, in memory of his former services. He then confessed, and received the last sacrament at the hands of the bishop. Before midday on the following morning, himself and the Count of Hoorn, were conducted by a guard of 2000 Spanish soldiers to the scaffold, erected in the horse-market at Brussels. As they ascended, Egmond asked once more, "Is there no hope?" The captain of the guard, Julian de Romero, shook his head, and was silent. He immediately knelt down, and taking a crucifix from the Bishop of Ypres, kissed it, and exclaimed, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" The dreadful moment passed, the Count of Hoorn next submitted to his fate with the courage of a hero, and the humility of a Christian. He died professing the tenets of the Protestant faith.

Thousands had assembled to witness the execution, of which they scarcely seemed to believe the possibility. The two nobles, from their ancient descent, their high station, the eminent services they had rendered their country, their courage, liberality, and popular manners, were, notwithstanding their vacillating and temporizing conduct during the late troubles, peculiarly the objects of love and veneration to the people. All that the Netherlanders had hitherto suffered—though death or ruin had fallen upon every family—though they lay down in fear, and rose up in sorrow—had failed to inspire them with the feelings of anguish, horror, and detestation, excited by the spectacle now presented to their eyes. The serried ranks of armed men prevented any attempt at rescue, and even checked the sound of a murmur from the surrounding multitude; but as soon as the fatal blow was struck,

and the troops began to give way, the people rushed 1568 tumultuously to the scaffold; some kneeling before it, vowed, after the manner of their forefathers, to leave their hair and beards uncut, till blood so noble was avenged^w; others dipped their handkerchiefs in the gore, and pressed them to their bosoms with muttered imprecations; while others, among whom were the Spanish soldiers themselves, vented their grief in tears and lamentations. It was said, that the French ambassador, who was secretly a witness of the execution, remarked, that he had "now seen the head of that man fall who had thrice caused all France to tremble*." After the heads had remained fixed upon iron poles for two hours, they were interred with their bodies; that of Egmond in the church of St. Clara, at Sotteghem, in Flanders, and the body of Hoorn at Kempen^x.

About the time of these tragical events in the Netherlands, the Lord of Montigny was beheaded in Spain, in pursuance of a sentence promulgated by the council of blood; and Don Carlos, the eldest son of the king, was thrown into prison upon an accusation of entertaining a secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles of that country. He died within a few days of his arrest, as some affirmed, by his own act, from impatience of confinement; but as there was every reason to believe, in consequence of poison administered by order of Philip. A similar suspicion attended the death of his step-mother within three months

^w Tacit. de Mor., cap. 31.

^x Meteren, boek iii., fol. 58. Grot. Annales, lib. ii., p. 40. Bor, boek iv., bl. 226, 239, 240.

* Alluding to the marriage of Philip with Mary, queen of England, negotiated by Egmond, and the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines.

1568 after ; and the intelligence of these atrocities served to convince the Netherlanders, that Alva, in all that he had hitherto done, had not exceeded the instructions given him by the king, whom they now began to look upon as a tyrant yet more sanguinary and vindictive than him whom he had sent amongst them⁷.

The Duke of Alva having, as he supposed, infused a salutary fear into the minds of the Netherlanders by the acts of remorseless and impolitic cruelty which he had perpetrated, prepared to march in person against Louis of Nassau, who was still engaged at the siege of Groningen. On the approach of Alva, Louis retired towards the Ems, with the design of fortifying himself at Jemmingen, until the Prince of Orange could arrive with succours. Thither he was closely followed by the duke, with his whole army, notwithstanding that Louis, to impede his march, had broken the bridges behind him, and, by opening the sluices, had laid a great portion of the country under water. Seeing, therefore, no chance of further retreat, he drew out his army in order of battle ; when, at this critical moment, the troops, composed mostly of German mercenaries, instead of preparing to fight, began to mutiny for want of pay. Scarcely had they given time for the vanguard of the Spaniards to attack them, when they broke their ranks, and fled towards the boats lying in the Ems ; nearly six thousand were killed in the pursuit, or drowned in attempting to reach them. Louis, seeing himself almost deserted, made his escape to East Friezland, leaving behind his artillery, plate, and baggage. After the battle, the Spaniards entered Jemmingen, where they put every human being, of whatever age or sex, to the sword⁸. The duke immediately despatched letters

⁷ Thuanus, lib. xliii., cap. 8.

⁸ Campana, Guer. di Fiand., lib. ii., p. 55.

to the councils of state of all the provinces, with the 1568 news of his victory, ordering that it should be celebrated with processions and thanksgivings; a mandate which the people dared not disobey. Having raised a fort at Delfzyl to command the Ems, he returned by way of Utrecht and Amsterdam to Brabant^a. Undismayed by this ruinous defeat, Louis of Nassau rallied the remains of his scattered forces, and hastened to join his brother, William of Orange, who was assembling a powerful army in his German territories. In the month of September he had collected under his standard forty-four companies (in each a hundred men) of German infantry, 4000 archers, French and Netherland refugees, and 4000 cavalry*, with four large and six smaller pieces of artillery. His banners, designed as emblems of the purpose for which he invaded his country, were inscribed with the motto, "Pro lege, grege, et rege!" and on others was painted a pelican feeding her young with her own blood. Before he commenced his march, he caused manifestoes to be published, justifying his necessary defence against the horrible tyranny of the Duke of Alva, and calling upon the Netherlanders to devote their lives and property to an unanimous resistance against the bloodthirstiness of the Spaniards, the eternal slavery of themselves and their posterity, and the destruction of the pure religion^b.

The Duke of Alva having received a supply of

^a Bor, boek iv., bl. 245.

^b Campana, *Guer. di Fiand.*, lib. ii., p. 57. Meteren, boek iii., fol. 62. Bor, boek iv., bl. 255.

* Meteren, Bor, and Campana, all agree as to the amount of infantry, but differ with respect to the cavalry, of which Bor states the number to have been 4000, Meteren, 7000; Grotius, 6000, Campana, 9000, and Strada 10,000, while De Thou alone gives the much more probable estimate of 700.

1568 400,000 crowns, with 2500 fresh troops from Spain, marched, at the head of an army of 5500 horse, and 16,000 foot, to Maestricht, where he formed a strong encampment, being kept for some time in doubt as to where his adversary would direct his first attack. At length Orange, finding himself destitute of materials for throwing a bridge across the Meuse, passed that river at a ford near Stochem, between Maestricht and Ruremonde, by a bold and rapid movement, executed almost in sight of Alva's army. But the issue of the campaign, thus auspiciously commenced, was equally unsuccessful with that of Louis. Alva, an able and experienced captain, adopted the same system of tactics which he had often found to serve him well during the long wars he had conducted in Italy. He carefully avoided a general engagement, and satisfied himself with laying waste the country, destroying the mills, and harassing the prince by continual skirmishes, well knowing that the latter would be unable to keep his army long on foot for want of provisions. The event turned out as he had anticipated. The strong garrisons which he had placed in all the neighbouring towns prevented the friends of the Gueux from joining their standard; supplies were cut off from their army on all sides; and of 300,000 ducats which the reformed communions of the Netherlands (where they were still held in secret), and of the refugees in other countries, had promised for the payment of the German troops, but 12,000 were forthcoming. As the winter approached, therefore, the prince marched to Cambray, with the intention of giving aid to the Prince of Condé and the Huguenots, in France; but being prevented from effecting his purpose by the mutinous disposition of his troops, who refused to serve except against the Duke of Alva, he was obliged to retire

through Champagne and Lorraine to Strasburg. Here he dismissed his forces, except a few hundred cavalry, with which he joined the Duke of Deuxponts, who was then raising troops for the service of the Prince de Condé^c.

Alva, puffed up with pride and arrogance at the 1569 entire destruction, as he imagined, of his enemies, caused, on his return to Antwerp, a brazen statue to be cast of the cannon taken at the battle of Jemmingen, and set up in the market-place, with an inscription on the base, signifying that he had defeated the rebels, restored security to religion, and peace to the Netherlands. The figure, an exact resemblance of himself, was in full armour, except the head, which was bare; under the feet lay the effigy of a man with two heads, which some thought was meant to represent the Counts of Egmond and Hoorn, others the nobles and people of the Netherlands. As the duke was one day contemplating the work, Charles de la Croye, duke of Aarschot, one of those persons who assume a license to say what they please, observed to him, that "the heads grinned so horribly, it was to be feared they would take a signal vengeance if ever they should rise again." The people caught up the idle jest, and cherished it as a prophecy^d.

Alva had now full leisure to pursue those schemes of arbitrary government which the attempts of the Prince of Orange and his brother had in some degree interrupted. He built strong citadels, and quartered Spanish garrisons in most of the principal towns; some, however, bought exemptions with large sums of money, Amsterdam paying 200,000 guilders for this purpose^e.

^c Campana, lib. ii., p. 59—61. Bor, boek iv., bl. 256. Meteren, boek iii., fol. 63. Thuanus, lib. xliii., cap. 19.

^d Bor, boek iv., bl. 258.

^e Idem, boek v., bl. 260.

1569 Such cities as had refused to acknowledge the new bishops, were now obliged to receive them with testimonies of the highest honour and respect; the decrees of the Council of Trent were universally enforced, and commissioners were despatched from the council of blood, to search out all those who had maintained any correspondence with the Prince of Orange, or borne any share in the preceding disturbances. The council likewise sent commands to the magistrates of the principal towns, to deliver up all such charters as empowered them to administer criminal jurisdiction. Once more Holland opposed to Alva's career of tyranny a barrier which, though slight, yet gave token of that hidden strength, the existence of which their oppressors little suspected, and of which they themselves were perhaps scarcely conscious.

The great council of Leyden, on receipt of the order, came to an unanimous resolution, in no case to surrender their charters of privileges, but to defend them to the utmost of their power. In consequence of this decision, the sheriffs, although they were unable to prevent the arrest of persons accused, since that office belonged to the schout (an officer appointed by the count or his representative), refused, by virtue of the charter of William VI., which invested them with both the high and low jurisdiction, either to assist the commissioner of the council, or to permit him to proceed in the trials without them; neither would they suffer those who had been condemned, to incur a forfeiture of more than ten pounds Flemish, according to their charter. It would have cost the Duke of Alva but little to have summoned every member of the government before the council of blood as abettors of heretics, and punished their boldness with death. He did not, however; and there is little doubt that the

firmness and courage of the magistrates of Leyden on 1569 this occasion, saved the lives of many of their innocent fellow citizens. In the rest of the Netherlands the commissioners carried on their work with remorseless violence; in one year, more than eight thousand persons were hanged, burnt, or beheaded; the executions, banishments, and confiscations, appeared endless. Not all the severe decrees against the fugitives, nor the dread of poverty and contempt in a foreign land, could stop the daily desertion of the country by the inhabitants. Above one hundred thousand heads of families quitted the Netherlands within a short space of time; the greater portion of whom took refuge in England, and settled about the towns of Norwich, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Hampton, where, protected, and permitted the free exercise of their religion by the wise policy of the queen, they established factories, and instructed the natives in the art of making baize, serge, and other articles of woollen manufacture^f *.

The Duke of Alva, for his eminent services in support of the Catholic church, and the extinction of heresy, was this year presented by the pope with the consecrated hat and sword; and, about the same time, Pius V. fulminated the sentence of excommunication against the Queen of England; a coincidence which ultimately proved favourable to the Netherlanders, since, by making the cause of Alva appear identified with that of the holy see, the feelings of resentment

^f Bor, boek v., bl. 260—267. Brandt, Hist. der Ref., boek x., bl. 498, et seq. Meteren, boek iii., fol. 64.

* We are told by the Duc de Sully, that at the time of his visit to England (1603), two-thirds of the inhabitants of Canterbury were Netherland refugees; a circumstance which, *he says*, accounted for the superior civilization and politeness he remarked in that city. Tom. iv., lib. xiv., p. 217.

1569 which this act excited in the breast of Elizabeth, were extended in a great measure to him also; and she soon found an opportunity of exhibiting them in a manner peculiarly vexatious.

It happened that five Spanish vessels, laden with specie for the Netherlands, being pursued by some French privateers belonging to the Prince of Condé, were forced to take refuge in the port of Southampton, when the Spanish ambassador, Gerard d'Esprez obtained permission of the queen, either to send them to Flanders under an English convoy, or to provide them with arms and ammunition in England, sufficient for their defence. But while he awaited further instructions from the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth, having received information that the money belonged to some Genoese merchants, by whom it had been supplied to the King of Spain, seized the whole of it, amounting to 600,000 crowns, as a loan, declaring that she would arrange with them only as to the payment of the interest and principal. As a means of compelling her to restore it, Alva, without the advice of either of his councils, immediately arrested all the English merchants in the Netherlands, placed guards of soldiers round their houses, and seized all their ships, which he sold for his own profit. The queen retaliated by causing an embargo to be laid on the Netherlands and their vessels in her ports, and transferred the staple of English wares to Hamburg; whereupon the duke forbade all traffic or communication with England, and prohibited the manufactures of that country throughout the Netherlands. Thus the trade between the two nations was entirely stopped until the year 1573, when matters were brought to an arrangement.

* Bor, boek v., bl. 272, 273, 279. Camden's Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, book i., p. 121, edit. 1675.

As Alva depended wholly upon the supply from 1569 Spain for the payment of his troops, (the nine years' petition granted by the states having now terminated,) he found himself in a situation of no small difficulty. Although he had trampled under foot all the other liberties and privileges of the Netherlanders, he was not, even yet, bold enough to attempt an arbitrary levy of taxes without consent of the states; which, consequently, the present emergency obliged him to summon. On their assembling at Brussels, he represented to them the expenses which the king had incurred in restoring to the Netherlands the blessing of peace, and extirpating the plague of heresy; and proposed that, in order to provide for the payment of the troops, *and lay up a fund for future occasions*, and at the same time to avoid the discontents arising from the inequality in the usual mode of levying the petitions, a tax of a hundredth should be imposed upon the value of every species of property, real and personal, except household utensils, tapestry, and wearing apparel; a twentieth upon the net produce of all sales of real property; and a tenth upon the sale of every article, except the first sale of the produce of land, and of wares belonging to foreign merchants; the duty, in all cases, to be paid by the seller. He desired that the states of all the provinces would conform readily and willingly to this proposition, observing that, "the king's meaning and intention was, to stop the mouths of all such as were inclined to offer any opposition^h." The matter being referred to the states of the several provinces, they consented, with little difficulty, to the levy of the hundredth, which, though always an unpopular, was by no means an unprecedented tax, in times of necessity. But with respect to the tenth

^h Bor, boek v., bl. 281.

1569 they declared that it would occasion the utter ruin of all commerce, trade, and manufactures in the Netherlands; since the high price at which the merchants, after the payment of this tax, would be forced to sell, in order to remunerate themselves, and the low one at which they could then afford to buy, would both stop the home consumption and deter the foreign trader, who had hitherto been attracted only by the certainty and quickness of sale, from coming thither with their wares. They urged, likewise, that in a country where trade and circulation were so constant and rapid as in the Netherlands, the same article often changed hands six or eight times before it came to the consumer, so that a tenth of the value being paid on every transfer, it might be easily imagined to what an exorbitant height the price would ultimately be raised; and the same would also occur with respect to the raw materials brought to be manufactured in the Netherlands¹.

Deaf alike to their remonstrances and to their offers of substituting enormous petitions in lieu of this obnoxious impost, Alva informed the states, through the medium of the stadtholders, that they must either give their simple and unconditional consent, or he must take measures to carry the king's intention into execution*. This, as they well knew, meant that he

¹ Hooft, boek v., bl. 190—194. Bor, boek v., bl. 281—286.

* It may be pleaded in excuse for Alva, that from his utter ignorance as to the mode of governing a commercial nation, he was not aware of the mischievous effects of his own scheme. He had been accustomed to see this tax levied in Spain, where it had existed for nearly a century, and where, in a country wholly agricultural, the evils consequent on it were comparatively slight; since goods for the most part passed with little intervening exchange from the producer to the consumer. So little did he understand the subject upon which he ventured to legislate so boldly, that he imagined it to be one of the greatest recommendations of the tax, that it would spare the nobles and gentry, and fall principally on the merchants and traders. Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. iii., p. 524. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 69.

would, under pretext of placing garrisons, let loose 1569 upon them an unpaid and licentious soldiery.

In consequence of this menace, therefore, the states of Holland, as the nobles and Dordrecht had already consented, yielded the point, but on condition only that the consent of the states of the remaining provinces were unanimous. At length, all the provinces agreed to the proposed tax except Utrecht, which firmly refused, offering instead a petition of 100,000 guilders. The duke, enraged beyond measure, especially with the clergy, (who formed the first member of the states of that province,) immediately quartered 2000 Spanish soldiers in the city, and encouraged them to exercise every species of insolence and outrage. The Utrechters, however, bore their injuries without complaint; and Alva finding them immoveable, and that Holland had declared her consent invalid in consequence of the opposition of Utrecht, began to despair of being able as yet to levy the tenth. He therefore offered to accept, in lieu of it, a second payment of a hundredth, with the sum of 2,000,000 guilders a year for six years: but as the states suspected, not without cause, that the provision which he was so anxious to lay up would one day be employed in strengthening their bonds of servitude, and that the king having become wholly independent of them, would be able to follow out his schemes of arbitrary government without constraint, although they granted the sum, they limited its payment to the term of two years^k.

The attempt to impose a tax so ruinous to the country, and the cessation of the trade with England added to the sufferings they had already endured from the tyranny of Alva, exasperated the hatred of the Netherlanders against him to an uncontrollable degree,

^k Bor, bl. 286—288, 310.

1569 and prepared them to second any attempt which might be made for their deliverance from a yoke now become insupportable. The Prince of Orange had, after the death of the Duke de Deuxponts in France, returned to his estates in Germany, where he remained watching the opportunity of a favourable turn in affairs. It was of the greatest importance that he should be informed of the present state of men's minds, and a citizen of Leyden—a name glorious in the annals of her country—was destined to make this first movement towards her redemption. Paul Buys, pensionary of that city, one of the deputies from Holland to the states-general at Brussels, remaining behind his companions on their return, under pretence of business at Antwerp, travelled night and day to Nassau-Dillenburg, where he had an interview with the Prince of Orange, laid open to him the whole state of the provinces, made arrangements for future correspondence, and arrived in Holland unsuspected within two or three days of the rest¹. Thus encouraged, the prince began busily to make preparations for another enterprise. He had been advised by the renowned Admiral de Coligny to change entirely his mode of operations, and to direct hostilities against the enemy chiefly by sea^m. But the good effects of this wise and enlightened counsel, which eventually proved the salvation of Holland, were not at first perceived. Instead of fitting out a regular fleet, which perhaps he had scarcely the means of doing, William commissioned a number of privateers under the command of Adrian van Bergen, lord of Dolhain, which seized and plundered all the vessels they fell in with, whether friendly or neutral, and by this means alienated from the party of the Gueux not only foreign nations, but even the Netherlanders themselves, whose

¹ Bor, boek v., bl. 289.

^m Du Maurier, p. 43.

trade was impeded by their piracies. The people gave them the appellation of Water-Gueux^a.

Orange, meanwhile, notwithstanding that the country was filled with the Duke of Alva's spies*, kept up a continual correspondence with his agents in the different towns, and appointed Theodore Sonnoy, 1570 John Basius, and others, his commissioners, to receive weekly and monthly contributions, as well from the exiles, as from the Reformers still remaining in the Netherlands. Several ministers of the reformed churches also, relying on the protection of men as brave and devoted as themselves, returned to Holland, and concealed by their friends at the risk of their own lives, persuaded their flocks to come forward with energy and liberality in support of the "honour of God, and the freedom of Christianity." They generally found the poorer and middle classes willing to contribute largely in proportion to their means, while the wealthier either gave nothing, or a small sum, just sufficient to redeem themselves from the obloquy of having withheld their assistance^o.

The exiles, in order to re-awaken the sympathy of the German princes, presented to the emperor in a diet at Spires, a petition of grievances, entreating him to use his mediation with the king in their favour. They complained that "the Spaniards desired the entire extirpation of all who would not submit to the papal power; that the Duke of Alva had entirely deprived the Netherlanders of their ancient laws, rights, and privileges; that by his tyranny and cruelty, the best

^a Bor, boek v., bl. 289.

^o Hooft, boek v., bl. 199. Bor, boek v., bl. 312.

* These persons receiving from the duke daily wages for their nefarious trade, were called by the populace his "seven-penny men."

1570 and most pious men were driven from their country; the holiest things desecrated; the bonds of marriage broken asunder; and all ties of affection and friendship dissolved." The ambassadors sent by Alva to the diet, maintained, on the other hand, that the King of Spain had a right to punish his rebellious subjects as he thought fit, without any interference on the part of the emperor. As the latter were supported by most of the Catholic princes, and a marriage was then negotiating between Philip and the daughter of Maximilian, the petition of the exiles remained unheeded. It is not improbable, however, that it had the effect of inducing Alva to proclaim a general amnesty, which he had received from Spain eight months previously, and until now kept secret. A solemn and imposing ceremony was held at Antwerp on the occasion; but the exceptions were so numerous, that instead of restoring confidence, it rather tended to increase the number of fugitives^p. Heretical preachers and teachers, and such as had harboured or associated with them; image breakers, and those who had given them any encouragement, whether through fear or connivance; all who had signed the compromise of the nobles; who had taken any part in the late attempts of the Prince of Orange and his brother, or assisted them with money; and the magistrates and public officers who had been negligent in preventing the seditions, were excluded from the benefits of the pardon^q. It would seem difficult, indeed, to discover that any were eligible, were it not that the inquisition in Spain had pronounced the whole of the king's subjects in the Netherlands, except some who were expressly named, deserving of

^p Meteren, boek iii., fol. 66.

^q Hooft, boek v., bl. 201, 202. Bor, boek v., bl. 321.

death as rebels and heretics^r. A very few of the 1570 lower rank of people only returned to their country, to whom the faith of the amnesty was inviolably kept; and the term of one month, to which it had at first been limited, was extended to three. Some prisoners also were released in honour of Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor, who passed through the Netherlands on her way to Spain, to complete her marriage with King Philip, her maternal uncle^s.

Hardly had this slight tendency to mercy discovered itself towards the Netherlands, when they were visited by a new and unexpected calamity. It seemed, indeed, as if it were the design of the Almighty to try to the utmost the patience of this enduring people, and to show from how low a depth he could raise up a mighty nation, that none who honestly struggle for their rights might fear to put their trust in Him. A strong north-west wind occurring during the high tides, drove the sea with such violence against the dikes, that several of them were broken down; the waters rushed in on every side, and rolling forward with resistless fury, swept away houses, trees, men, and cattle in one universal ruin; in Holland, entire villages, and among them Catwyk-on-the-Sea, were destroyed; and the number of souls who perished in Friezland alone, was estimated at 20,000. The loss of life was less extensive in the other provinces, but the damage done to property was incalculable. The Spaniards imputed the flood, which occurred on All Saints' day, to the vengeance of God upon the heresy of the land; the Netherlands looked upon it as an omen portending some violent commotions^t.

The stormy season prevented the execution of the

^r Bor, boek v., bl. 226.

^s Hooft, boek vi., bl. 204.

^t Idem, 206.

designs which the Prince of Orange had formed of seizing Enkhuyzen, Briel, and some other places; nevertheless, the events of the year were not wholly unpropitious to him. He had substituted in the place of Dolhain, as his admiral, William van der Mark, lord of Lumey, and placed his little navy on a more regular footing. They had taken some valuable prizes, principally Spanish vessels, and the rich booty they obtained, while it contributed to the support of the war, drew numbers to their flag.

- 1571 The fleet having no place of rendezvous in the Netherlands, the prince besought the Kings of Denmark and Sweden to grant permission for his ships to retire into their ports. Both rejected his demand; the former with some manifestations of hostility towards the Gueux. The Count of East Friezland also, who had at first favoured their party, was rendered, by the excessive dread he entertained of Alva, a doubtful and unsafe ally; and England now became their only haven of shelter. To deprive them of this, Alva peremptorily demanded of the queen that she should cease to afford encouragement to the pirates and rebels from the King of Spain's dominions. His remonstrance, which bore somewhat the appearance of a menace, induced Elizabeth, who feared to draw on herself the enmity of
- 1572 Philip, to issue an order commanding the Gueux to quit the ports, and strictly forbidding any one to harbour, or supply them with food or other necessities^u.

Thus driven from their last refuge, and left without a single spot of earth in Europe whereon to set their foot, the Gueux, under the command of the admiral, William van der Mark, (one of those who had sworn to let their hair and beard grow till the death of

^u Bor, boek v., bl., 323—340. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 71.

Egmond was avenged,) set sail in their vessels, twenty- 1572
four in number for the Texel, purposing to attack the
duke's ships of war which were then lying there. On
their way they captured two large Spanish vessels, and
being driven by stress of weather into the Meuse,
presented themselves suddenly before Briel. The town
being destitute of a garrison, and the poorer people
favourably inclined to the Gueux, the more wealthy
inhabitants fled precipitately, and Van der Mark took ^{Apl.}
possession in the name of the Prince of Orange as ^{1st.}
stadtholder, with little opposition. The lives and pro-
perty of the citizens remained untouched: but the
Gueux wreaking a cruel vengeance on the priests and
monks, hanged no less than thirteen of them; they
likewise stripped the churches, and broke all the
images^v.

In so extraordinary and unexpected a manner did
the Gueux first gain a footing in their native country;
an event pregnant with consequences of such vast im-
portance, and which was to be imputed solely to the
stubborn and vindictive folly of Alva himself. He
had, as it has been observed, quartered a band of
Spanish soldiers on the inhabitants of Utrecht, in
revenge of their refusal to consent to the levy of the
tenth. Finding this of no effect, he summoned the
states before the council of blood, which pronounced
them guilty of high treason, and their privileges for-
feited. The inhabitants appealed to the king in Spain,
both against the sentence and the infliction of the
Spanish soldiers; and Alva, in consequence, received
commands from Philip to use clemency and forbearance
towards them^w. Their boldness in appealing to the
king, however, provoked Alva to such a degree, that in

^v Hooft, boek vi., bl. 216. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 72.

^w Hooft, boek vi., bl. 203. Bor, boek v., bl. 342.

1572 order to vex and oppress them to the utmost of his power, he withdrew the Spanish garrisons from Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, and the Briel, and quartered the whole of them in Utrecht, thus leaving those towns open to the attack of the enemy*.

The intelligence of the loss of Briel arrived at a juncture when Alva was sufficiently embarrassed by other matters. At the termination of the period for which the 2,000,000 guilders had been granted, he again insisted on the levy of the tenth, though with some slight modifications; and condemned the citizens of Amsterdam, who hesitated to publish his decree, to pay a fine of 25,000 guilders. To the vehement remonstrances of the states of Holland on the subject, he answered, that they had already given their consent, and that the decree had been published in the other provinces. It was in vain that Viglius, president of the council of finance, and others well acquainted with the disposition of the Netherlanders, endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose; in vain that warning was given him of the storm he was raising by the acts of the council of Holland, which issued orders for a general fast, commanding the people to "repent, and pray to God to soften the duke's hard and stubborn heart, that he might listen to the voice of reason and justice;" and by the preaching of the Franciscan monks themselves, who openly railed at him from the pulpit as a tyrant and violator of the people's rights. He declared that he was resolved to enforce the tax, though it should occasion the entire loss of the provinces or cost him his life; that those councillors who supported the people in their refusal ought to be treated as rebels; that he had determined to try all the contumacious before the council of blood, and

* Bor, 348.

have them beheaded; and that the states of all the 1572 provinces, particularly Flanders, should deem themselves happy that he was willing to accept this tax in lieu of placing them in the same situation as the Count of Egmond or the Prince of Orange¹. He accordingly proceeded to demand the payment of the tenth, first in Brussels, where he imagined that his presence, and that of an immense number of armed troops, would awe the people into submission, and thus serve as a precedent for the rest. But the citizens in this emergency offered an example of that passive resistance which, when prudently adopted and steadily persevered in, renders a people invincible. They unanimously ceased their traffic; every shop was shut, the brewers refused to brew, the bakers would not bake, and even the innkeepers closed their houses, so that the soldiers themselves could not get supplied with provisions. The duke determined to hang seventy of the principal shopkeepers before their own doors on the next night, as an example to the rest; and the executioner, in obedience to his commands, had already prepared ladders and ropes for the purpose, when, happily, on the very day appointed, the tidings arrived of the capture of Briel, and saved Alva from the commission of this additional atrocity².

Seeking too late to remedy his error, the duke suspended the collection of the tenth at Brussels, and ordered the Count of Bossu to withdraw the Spanish troops from Utrecht, and proceed with all haste to Briel, where the Gueux, in expectation of an attack, fortified themselves as well as the time permitted. They allowed the Spaniards to land unmolested; but

¹ Meteren, boek iv., fol. 71. Brandt's Hist. der Ref., boek x., bl. 517.

² Hooft, boek vi., bl. 216. Bor, boek vi., bl. 361. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 70.

1572 scarcely were they set on shore, when one Rok Meussen opened the sluice of the Nieuland dyke and laid the country under water. The Spaniards, in consequence, were obliged to file along the top of the dyke, where they were completely exposed to the fire of the artillery from the town; and at the same time, William de Treslong sunk, burnt, or captured, all the vessels lying in the Meuse, which had brought them to Briel. Finding their means of retreat cut off, and that the water continued to rise higher and higher around them, the troops, seized with terror, commenced a hasty and disorderly flight; some attempting to swim, were drowned, and the rest took their route, through streams and marshes, over New Beyerland to Dordrecht, where, when they arrived, wet, weary, and jaded, they were denied admittance. Thence they proceeded to Rotterdam, the gates of which were shut against them. After much entreaty, however, the Count of Bossu obtained permission of the government for the soldiers to pass through the town to the neighbouring villages, fifty at a time, with their muskets unloaded. The first detachment, on entering, slew the watch at the gates, when the whole body followed, without having discharged their muskets, as agreed on. They killed all whom they found in arms, about four hundred in number, and taking possession of the town, treated the inhabitants in the same manner as if they had conquered it by assault. The consequences of this breach of faith were, as it will appear, most inimical to the Spanish commander^a.

After the loss of Briel, the key to the entrance of the Meuse, the primary object of Alva's care was the security of the Scheldt by the possession of Flushing, where he had already begun to build a citadel, under

^a Bor, boek vi., bl. 367 et seq.

the superintendence of one Pacieco. He now gave 1572 him orders for its immediate completion, and sent thither 1500 troops under the command of Osorio di Angelo. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the people ran to arms, and having forced them to retire, destroyed the portion of the citadel already built, fortified the town, and despatched messengers to solicit succours from William van der Mark, at Briel, from England, from the Prince of Orange, and from Count Louis of Nassau, then in France. Van der Mark sent to their assistance three ships of war, with about two hundred men, commanded by William de Treslong, and a band of exiles arrived nearly at the same time from England. The engineer, Pacieco, ignorant of what had occurred, came a few days after to Flushing, expecting to find the Spanish soldiers in garrison there. He was seized by order of Treslong, and immediately hanged, in revenge for the death of Treslong's brother, who was one of the eighteen nobles executed by Alva on the 1st of June, 1568^{b*}

Within a short time of this event, the fishers and burghers of the small town of Campveere forced their government to declare for the Prince of Orange^c.

The possession of Flushing was of the last importance to the Gueux, since it commanded the passage of the ships coming from Spain and Portugal to Antwerp. Not long after its capture, a fleet of forty sail appeared in the Scheldt, having on board, together with 2500 fresh troops, the Duke of Medina-Celi, sent by the

^b Bor, boek vi., bl. 370.

^c Met., boek iv., fol. 74.

* This Pacieco is usually confounded with a celebrated engineer of that name, sent to the Netherlands by the Duke of Savoy in the service of Alva, whom, however, we find signalling himself in the defence of Tergoes, in the latter part of this year. Campana, Guer. di Fiand., lib. iii., p. 95.

1572 King of Spain to supersede Alva in the government of the Netherlands, from which he had desired to be relieved. Several of these were merchant ships laden with valuable wares, the crews of which, ignorant of the revolt of Flushing, brought them close to the town, when they were received with a heavy discharge of artillery; and at the same time were attacked by a number of small vessels under the command of one Ewald Peterson, commonly called Captain Worst, a brave and able seaman. Twenty-four were captured, containing a booty of 200,000 crowns in money, besides merchandize to the value of 500,000 more, which were applied to the public service. The Gueux drowned all their prisoners, in order to force the Duke of Alva to a more humane mode of warfare, since, in the campaign against the Prince of Orange, he had caused all who were taken in battle to be immediately hanged as traitors and rebels. Medina-Celi, with the men-of-war and troops escaped to Sluys in safety. On his arrival at Brussels, he found the state of affairs so desperate, that, as his own powers from the king were very limited, he declined assuming any share in the government, and finally obtained his dismissal^d.

The Duke of Alva, to all appearance, was but little disquieted at the progress of the Gueux, judging that, at the head of his veteran troops, he could crush their feeble force at a single blow*. But a coincidence not less remarkable than that which had preserved the lives of the citizens of Brussels, proved the salvation of Holland. This was the capture of Mons, in Hainault,

^d Meteren, boek iv., fol. 74. Bor, boek vi., bl. 393.

* The quiet and patient temper of the people of Holland and Zealand had inspired Alva with so sovereign a contempt for them, that he was accustomed to say he would smother them in their own butter.

by Louis of Nassau. Louis had, after his brother's 1572 departure from France, remained at Rochelle, then the stronghold of the Huguenots, where he pursued his negotiations with such zeal and activity, that he obtained promises of assistance from the principal nobles of that party, and even succeeded in making an alliance with the government itself.

It was at this time the policy of the French court to conciliate the minds, and lull the suspicions of the Huguenots, by every possible means, and nothing was more conducive to this effect than the pretence of reviving the ancient animosity between France and Spain, to which some disputes that had occurred between their respective ambassadors at the Council of Trent, and the treatment by Philip of his wife, Elizabeth, sister of the King of France, gave a colour of reality. With the same view the king appeared to listen with complacency to the counsels earnestly pressed upon him by Coligny, and the heads of the Huguenot party, to find employment at once for the King of Spain, and the restless spirits in his own dominions, by sending an army to the assistance of the revolted provinces in the Netherlands. Accordingly Louis of Nassau was encouraged to repair secretly to the court, where he was received with every mark of esteem by Charles, who granted him permission to make an unlimited levy of troops in France, and engaged to furnish his brother, the Prince of Orange, with a subsidy of 200,000 crowns*. Louis, having speedily raised 500 French light horse and 1000 musketeers, advanced by forced marches into Hainault, and presenting himself unexpectedly before Mons, made himself master of the town by stratagem the next day. He was followed by the remainder of his May 24.

* Thuanus, lib. L., cap. 14.

1572 troops, consisting of 2000 infantry, together with an additional body of 1200 horse and 1300 foot, under the command of the Sieur de Montmorency.

Alva could scarcely believe the intelligence of the capture of Mons, especially as he had heard from his spies in France, that Louis had been seen a few days before in Paris playing at tennis. As it was in itself one of the strongest places in that part of the Netherlands, and afforded a key to the entrance of the French, he resolved, leaving all other cares aside, to employ his whole force in its recovery; and to this effect summoned to his camp the troops which had been assembled at Bergen op Zoom for the reduction of Zeeland. The Gueux thus gained time to strengthen themselves in that quarter. Jeronimo Tseraarts, master of the horse to the Prince of Orange, being appointed by Louis of Nassau governor of Walcheren, repaired to Flushing with a considerable number of French and Netherland soldiers, to which were added 200 English volunteers, under Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Thomas Morgan^f. Meanwhile, Holland was not behindhand in the work of liberation. The Duke of Alva had commanded some vessels to be prepared at Enkhuyzen (a town of North Holland commanding the entrance of the Zuyderzee), for the attack of the Count van der Mark at Briel; and under this pretext, attempted to introduce a body of Spanish troops into the town. The burghers, however, kept the gates firmly closed; forced the captain, who, with a few soldiers, was already in the town, to evacuate it; and committed Boshuyzen, the admiral sent thither by the duke to conduct the preparations, a prisoner to the guildhall. They likewise took prisoners the burgo-masters, who had endeavoured to effect the admittance

^f Meteren, boek iv., fol. 74.

of the foreign soldiers; and, hoisting the Orange 1572 standard on the walls, declared themselves under the government of the prince, as stadtholder of the King of Spain. They then proceeded to levy 350 troops from among the citizens, and sent to request succours from William van der Mark and the Prince of Orange. The former despatched some privateering vessels, and a few veteran soldiers, to their assistance; and Theodore Sonnoy, whom the prince had appointed deputy stadtholder of North Holland, repaired to Enkhuyzen from Bremen with all speed, at the first report of this favourable turn in affairs. The remainder of the towns of North Holland were easily induced to follow the example set by Enkhuyzen; in Medemblik and Hoorn the burghers, in defiance of the opposition of their governments, acknowledged Sonnoy at his first summons*. Oudewater first raised the standard of revolt in South Holland; Gouda next, after a show of resistance to the troops sent by William van der Mark, took the oath of allegiance to the prince; Delft shut its gates against the Spanish garrison, and levied troops for its own defence; the inhabitants of Leyden and Dordrecht unanimously espoused the same side; and within three months from the capture of Briel, not a single town in Holland, except Amsterdam, remained in obedience to the king's governor; the Spanish soldiers having been forced to evacuate Rotterdam, from the difficulty of obtaining supplies.

In Friezland, some of the most powerful and illustrious of the nobility were numbered among the party of the Gueux, who were admitted without difficulty into Sneek, Bolsward, Franiker, and Dokkum; they likewise besieged Staveren and Leeuwarden, and

* Velius Hoorn, boek iii., bl. 179, et seq.

1572 reduced the latter to great straits for want of provisions^h.

Even the bold spirit of Alva quailed before the events that were now crowding fast around him. He sent to the Lord of Bossu, as stadtholder of Holland, commanding him to assemble the states at the Hague, and to signify to them the entire abolition of the tenth and twentieth, and his consent to the substitution of the annual payment of 2,000,000 of guilders. It was too late. The same measure of conciliation which three months before might have gone far to appease the Netherlands, was now worse than useless. The states did indeed assemble, but in a different place, and for far other purposes than those designed by Alva. Deputies from the nobles, and from the towns of Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Gouda, Gorcum, Oudewater, Alkmaar, Hoorn, Enkhuyzen, Medemblick, Edam, and Monnikendam, met together at Dordrecht, on the summons of Philip de Marnix, Lord de St. Aldegonde, as deputy from the Prince of Orange; and from the resolutions they adopted, it appears evident that even at this early period they had not the slightest intention of ever again returning under the dominion of Spain. They acknowledged the Prince of Orange as stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, appointed by the King of Spain, count of Holland, and not removed by any act conformable to the laws of the land; they voted a sum of 200,000 guilders for the expenses of the war, and 500,000 more to defray the cost of the prince's intended expedition for the relief of Mons; and passed a resolution that attested copies should be delivered to the towns of all the charters and muniments relating to the privileges of the land. They bound themselves to make no compromise with

^h Hooft, boek vi., bl. 242. Bor., boek vi., bl. 378—383.

the king, or any one bearing his commission, unless by 1572 the advice and consent of the Prince of Orange; to assist him faithfully to the utmost of their power, and never to abandon him or the cause which they had mutually undertaken to support. St. Aldegonde entered into a like engagement on the part of the prince, declaring, at the same time, his intention to permit to all persons the free exercise of their religion. At the same assembly the states confirmed the appointment of William van der Mark, a native of Liege, as captain-general; a man of irregular habits and brutal ferocity, but of inestimable value at the present juncture, from his activity, promptness, and decision, qualities in which the prince himself, particularly in the early part of his career, seems to have been lamentably deficient. About the same time the tenth was remitted in Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, in consequence of a petition which the states of those provinces had transmitted to the kingⁱ.

The duke had sent forward his son Don Frederic di Toledo to lay siege to Mons, with 4000 infantry and 400 cavalry, he himself remaining behind to complete his preparations. Frederic, in obedience to the orders of his father, formed a strong encampment at the monastery of Bethlem, within a quarter of a mile of the town, in order to prevent the besieged from obtaining supplies of corn and forage. Louis of Nassau beginning to fear a scarcity, as the store of provisions within the walls was but slender, despatched the Sieur de Genlis to France for additional succours. He returned with 3200 infantry and 1000 cavalry, under the command of himself and the Sieur de Jumelles; but, instead of marching to Cambray, as Louis desired, to effect a junction with the German army that the

ⁱ Bor, boek vi., bl. 387—389.

1572 prince was about to bring into the Netherlands, the French commander persisted in attempting to enter Mons. He was met within a short distance from the town by Noircarmes, (or, as it is affirmed, purposely betrayed into his hands by some spies employed by the French court for the purpose^k,) attacked, and entirely defeated; 1200 of his troops were slain, and the greater portion of the remainder, including himself and the Sieur de Jumelles, made prisoners^l.

Leaving the Duke of Aarschot in command of Brussels, Alva marched to Mons with 10,500 cavalry, chiefly Germans, and eleven newly raised regiments of infantry, Germans and Walloons, in addition to his Spanish troops. He was accompanied by the Duke of Medina-Celi, who, though still in the Netherlands awaiting his dismissal, took no part in affairs.

Nearly at the same time the Prince of Orange marched from Germany for the purpose of relieving Mons, at the head of 7000 German horse and 14,000 foot, with 3000 Netherlanders^m. On his route, he mastered Ruremonde by assault; and Louvain, Nivelles, Mechlin, and Dendermonde opened their gates to him. The whole country, indeed, manifested favourable dispositions; but fearful of weakening his army, by dividing it into a number of garrisons, instead of encouraging the towns in their revolt, he pressed forward to the relief of his brother in Mons. But Alva, following the same plan he had successfully adopted on a former occasion, entrenched himself so strongly before the walls, that Orange was unable either to force him to a battle or to throw succours into the town. While he was detained in this state of involuntary inactivity, the fearful news arrived of the

^k Mém. de Sully, tom. i., lib. i., p. 38.

^l Thuanus, lib. liv., cap. 9.

^m Bor, boek vi., bl. 398.

massacre of St. Bartholomew. By this event, besides 1572 the loss of nearly all his friends among the Huguenots, who had perished by the knife of the assassin, and the conviction it brought of the insincerity of the professions lately made by the court of France, the prince was precluded from the hope of supplies from thence, upon which he in great measure depended for the payment of his troops. Having, therefore, contrived to convey intelligence to Louis of his inability to afford him aid, and his wish that he should surrender on the best terms he could obtain, he retired to Mechlin, and thence beyond the Rhine, where he once more dismissed his useless band of mercenaries; not without danger to himself, however, since they were on the point of seizing his person as security for their pay, and were only diverted from their purpose by the Hollanders making themselves responsible for the amount. The Duke of Alva, eager to secure Mons, was willing to grant the most favourable conditions, which Louis of Nassau, being confined to his bed by sickness, and finding that there were no hopes of relief from without, thought it advisable to accept. The town, accordingly, surrendered, having sustained no less than 14,534 cannon shots; the garrison were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and their lives and property secured to the inhabitants; but all who were not Catholics were banished^a. From Mons, Alva marched to Mechlin, which the garrison, finding themselves too weak to resist him, secretly abandoned; and the town being given up to the unbridled fury of the soldiers, was sacked and pillaged without mercy; ecclesiastics as well as laymen, women and children, alike fell a prey to their cupidity or barbarity; the property

^a Meteren, boek iv., bl. 81—85. Campana, Guer. di Fiand., lib. iii., p. 92, 93.

1572 of the Catholic clergy, which the Gueux themselves had spared, with the jewels and ornaments of the churches, were seized and carried away; and the amount of loss to the citizens was estimated at several millions of guilders. The neighbouring cities of less wealth and importance were permitted to redeem themselves from pillage by the payment of large sums of money^o.

During this time, the affairs of the gueux had somewhat retrograded in Zealand. After an unsuccessful attack on Middleburg, Tseraarts, governor of Flushing, laid siege to Goes, in South Beveland, accompanied by the French and English auxiliaries; they had planted their artillery before the walls, and already effected two breaches, when Alva, upon the surrender of Mons, sent Mondragon with 3000 men to its relief. Unable to reach it by water, on account of the number of vessels which the Gueux captain, Peterson Worst, kept in the channel, Mondragon was conducted by a guide across a ford near Woonstdrecht at ebb tide, marching two leagues through the water. His advance, which they had deemed impossible, so astonished the besiegers, that they broke up their camp in disorder, and hastened on board their ships, scarcely giving themselves time to re-embark their artillery. Thus Goes and the remainder of South Beveland continued still under the dominion of Spain, as well as Arnemuyden and the fort of Rammekens, in Walcheren. Middleburg, to which the Gueux had now laid siege a second time, was kept closely blockaded; and Zierikzee, with the island of Schouwen, acknowledged the Prince of Orange^p.

The prince, after disbanding his German army,

^o Bor, boek vi., bl. 409, et seq. Campana, boek iii., p. 97.

^p Meteren, boek iv., fol. 87.

went into Holland, accompanied by a few attendants 1572 only, where his presence was much required, as well to cheer the minds of the people, disappointed in the results they anticipated from his long-prepared and expensive enterprize, as to put a stop to the excesses committed by the undisciplined soldiers of William van der Mark, which had now arrived at such a height, as to cause loud complaints among the people, who declared, that they might almost as well live under the tyranny of the Spaniards. Landing at Enkhuyzen, he proceeded thence to Haarlem, where the states were assembled, by whom he was welcomed with an excess of joy; he made several regulations for the better ordering of the troops, strictly forbidding any communication with the enemy, or the exportation of provisions, and confirmed the impositions laid on by the states for the support of the war. The council of finance, and the supreme court of Holland, having retired to Utrecht when the Spaniards evacuated Rotterdam, he, with the consent of the states, appointed new ones in their room. All the acts of the prince were done by the combined authority of himself and the states alone, without any reservation of the king's future approbation, or any provisional limitation until he should be better advised; so that Holland had now, though not in express terms, virtually emancipated itself from the government of Spain^a.

The Duke of Alva having retired to repose himself at Nimeguen, his son, Don Frederic, conducted a portion of the army to the siege of Zutphen. The garrison fled, and the burghers offered to surrender; but the town was, nevertheless, pillaged in the same manner as if it had been conquered by assault, and 500 of the inhabitants were drowned in the Yssel.

^a Bor, boek vi., bl. 409, et seq. Velius Hoorn, boek iii., bl. 200.

1572 Terrified by the fate of Zutphen, and too weak to withstand the arms of Don Frederic without speedy aid, of which there appeared no hope, all the towns of Guelderland and Friezland once more submitted to Alva^r. Advancing from Zutphen to Amersfoort, Frederick sent forward the Lord of Bossu to the small town of Naarden, in Holland, with a summons to surrender. The inhabitants replied, that, "by the help of God, they would keep their town, as they had hitherto done, to the service and profit of the King of Spain." They immediately despatched agents to purchase ammunition on the credit of the states of Holland, and wrote to Theodore Sonnoy for the loan of two barrels of powder, and to Berthold Entes, lieutenant of William van der Mark, then stationed at Veen, soliciting succours of troops without delay. Obtaining nothing in return but fair words and promises, and having no more than three barrels of powder within the walls, they at last determined to throw themselves on the mercy of Don Frederic. Accordingly, Martin Lawrenceson, one of the burgomasters, and Gerard Peterson, a sheriff, were commissioned to repair to his camp, for the purpose of interceding for their fellow citizens. They were denied admittance, but ordered to retire to Bussem, about a mile and a half from Naarden, and wait there till he came. On the road thither, Peterson, alarmed at the preparations he had observed at Amersfoort, left the sledge on which they travelled, saying, "Adieu, I shall not come this time to Naarden," and was seen no more. Lawrenceson, though overwhelmed with fear and chagrin at the behaviour of his comrade, determined to persevere in fulfilling his duty towards those who had sent him, and awaited the arrival of Don Frederic at Bussem. Here

^r Meteren, boek iv., fol. 88.

he was joined by Lambertus Hortensius, a catholic 1572 priest, (the historian of Utrecht,) and some others. Being unable to obtain an audience of Don Frederic himself, they were informed, that Julian de Romero was invested with full powers to treat for the surrender in his name. With him, therefore, the deputies agreed, that the town should open its gates to Don Frederic, on the express condition that the lives and properties of all the inhabitants should be preserved; that the citizens should take a new oath to the King of Spain; and that 100 Spaniards should be allowed to take out of the city as much goods as they could carry. This treaty, a verbal one only, was confirmed by the usual ceremony of joining hands, the same which the states and Prince of Orange had lately used in promising fidelity to each other, and which hitherto had always been deemed an ample security among so simple and faithful a people. On the entrance of Romero, the burghers were summoned to come unarmed to the guildhall, for the purpose of taking the new oath to the king; nearly the whole of them quitted the ramparts and hastened thither, a few only excepted, who, seized with a vague dread or suspicion, concealed themselves in the dome of the church; their wives, meanwhile, were busily employed in the duties of hospitality, preparing for the entertainment of the strangers. The town was soon filled with Spanish soldiers, a number of whom, headed by a priest, walked to and fro for some time before the guildhall; when at length the priest, turning suddenly towards the people, bid them prepare for death. At this signal the work of slaughter began; first firing their muskets among the defenceless multitude, the Spaniards proceeded to cut them in pieces with their swords, and in an instant laid 500 dead on the floor of the guildhall, which they

1572 set on fire. They then ran through the streets, butchering all they met, and set fire to the houses in different places, to force those who had escaped or concealed themselves to come out, when they were immediately cut down, or thrust through with pikes; even the inmates of the hospitals for the aged, whose years numbered from eighty to a hundred, were, with the exception of two, all massacred. The life of Lambertus Hortensius himself, though a priest, was with difficulty saved by the entreaties of the Count of Bossu; but his son, the organist of the principal church, was murdered, and his heart torn out before his eyes. A smith named Hubert Williamson, snatching up a three-legged stool in one hand and a sword in the other, bravely defended the entrance of his house for some time against a troop of Spaniards, several of whom he killed. At length, wounded and overpowered by numbers, he sank down, letting fall his temporary shield, but had still sufficient strength left to grasp with his hard hands the blades of two swords which the Spaniards pointed at his breast. They quickly drew them back, severing every one of his fingers, and plunged the weapons into his body. His daughter was at that moment on her knees by his side, imploring them to save his life; the only answer they gave her was to take up her father's yet quivering fingers and dash in her face. Those who had taken refuge in the dome of the church, though they might easily have defended themselves, the only entrance being through one narrow door, stupified by terror, were slaughtered without resistance. The cruelties practised on the women were yet more enormous. Many died of their tortures under the hands of the soldiers; some were thrown into wells and drowned; others were forced to quit their beds, and, with their infants of a few days

old, to fly barefoot from the town. One of the burgo- 1572
masters, Henry Lambertson, was hanged and quartered
before his own door. No more than sixty men were
left alive, forty of whom were able to make their
escape, and twenty redeemed themselves by payment
of a heavy ransom. The town was so completely
stripped, that there was not sufficient sustenance left
for the few women and children who remained. With
an impious and indecent barbarity, for which we should
vainly seek a parallel in the annals of savage nations,
it was forbidden to bury the dead, and their corpses
were left putrefying in the streets for the space of
three weeks.

The acts committed at Naarden received the
highest approbation from the Duke of Alva, who
afterwards, as if in bitter irony, declared the citizens
of that town, whose streets were now a desert, ba-
nished, and all their goods confiscated, as guilty of high
treason; and forced the peasants of Gooiland by threats
to destroy the walls and public buildings. It was part
of his policy to infuse terror into the conquered; but
on this occasion he had gone a step beyond—he had
roused despair in all its fury*.

Hastily quitting the smoking ruins of Naarden,
Don Frederic led his troops to repose a few days at
Amsterdam, designing to make Haarlem his next
object of attack. The government of Amsterdam, who
had all along shown themselves conspicuous in the
persecution of the Reformers, and still remained de-
voted to the Spanish party, sent to inform the inha-
bitants of Haarlem of his intention, exhorting them to
submit promptly, and pledging themselves that mercy
would be shown by the conqueror. The Haarlemmers

* Bor, boek vi., bl. 416—419. Hooft, boek vii., bl. 278. Boxhorn,
Theat. Urb. Holl. in Naarden, p. 343.

1572 beheld the extent and weakness of their fortifications, the numbers and discipline of the enemy's host, and the small reliance that was to be placed on the Prince of Orange, who had never yet succeeded in relieving a single town, and for a moment they wavered; the government even sent deputies secretly to make terms with Don Frederic. But a bold and animated harangue from Wybald van Ripperda, captain of the burgher guard, reminding them of the blood of their countrymen shed at Naarden, and the fidelity they had sworn to the prince, aroused their nobler and more manly feelings; with an universal shout of enthusiasm the people replied, that they would devote their lives to the preservation of their town and the welfare of the good cause^t. The Lord of St. Aldegonde was commissioned by the Prince of Orange to remove such members of the senate and great council as were supposed to be inclined to the Spanish interests, new ones chosen by the burghers being substituted in their place; and those who had opened the negotiation with the Spaniards were sent prisoners to Leyden; the images were removed from the churches, and the reformed service everywhere established^u. On the 9th of December, in a season of intense cold, Don Frederic marched towards Haarlem with thirty-six companies of Spanish infantry, sixteen of Germans, and twenty-two of Walloons, his cavalry amounting to no more than 1500^v. The number of troops within the city was about 1000, composed of English, Scotch, and Germans, to which was afterwards added a reinforcement of 550 Netherlanders. The commencement of operations was unpropitious to the defenders, Don Frederic making himself master of the important fort

^t Bor, boek vi., bl. 420.

^u Meteren, boek iv., fol. 89.

^v Campana, Guer. di, Fiand., lib. iii., p. 100.

of Sparendam, about a mile from Haarlem ; and being 1573 , enabled, under cover of a thick fog accompanied by a temporary thaw, to throw up his entrenchments without molestation. These were indeed but hasty and incomplete, since he imagined a single week would amply suffice for the execution of his task. It fell out far otherwise ; for though fifteen pieces of heavy artillery which he brought to bear against a ravelyn near the gate called the Kruysgate, easily effected a breach, yet the Spaniards, on mounting to the assault, were so resolutely repelled by the troops and burghers within, that they were forced to retire with the loss of 200 men and twenty of their best officers. Encouraged by this first success, the Haarlemmers carried on their defence with redoubled energy and spirit. No sooner was a breach made, than it was again repaired with wood, sacks, earth, and such other materials as were at hand ; the inhabitants spent the long winter nights in building an inner wall, higher and stronger than the old one ; rich and poor, aged and children, men and women, all joined in the work ; not an idle hand was to be seen in the city ; among the rest, one Catherine van Hasselaar, a widow lady of rank and fortune, formed a regiment of 300 women, who, retaining the dress of their sex, distinguished themselves no less by their skill in the use of the spade and pickaxe, than the musket and sword ; scarcely a day passed without a murderous sally on the part of the besieged, who on some occasions advanced to the enemy's trenches, and plundered and burned their tents. Meanwhile the citizens of Leyden constantly supplied them with provisions, artillery, and ammunition, conveyed in sledges across the frozen sea of Haarlem, and reinforcements of troops were sent by the same means from the prince and states at Delft. At length the Spaniards, having

1573 gained the ravelyn near the Kruysgate, though not before the besieged had completed the erection of a strong half-moon behind it, prepared for a fresh assault.

Leaving the camp before daybreak on the last day of January, they came unperceived close to the walls where the wearied and sleepy sentinels kept but negligent watch. The morning light discovered them in possession of the Kruysgate, and a considerable portion of the rampart on each side the ravelyn, to about fifty or sixty soldiers who were near. They quickly raised the alarm, and kept the enemy at bay with undaunted courage till the troops and burghers came to their aid; all hurried to the place of danger; some engaged with the assailants, while others filled a mine already dug under the ravelyn, with powder, and blew it into the air; a fierce contest ensued on the rampart, in which the Spaniards were once more worsted; 300 of their choicest troops fell, while the loss sustained by the defenders was no more than ten. During this time, eighty sledges laden with stores were conveyed safely into the town on the opposite side. Unhappily the noble and patriotic courage of the Haarlemmers was stained by acts of cold-blooded and atrocious barbarity. The Spaniards having taken prisoner one Philip King, in an unsuccessful attempt to throw succours into the town, put him to death, and afterwards threw his head over the wall, with the inscription "This is the King who should have relieved Haarlem with 2000 men." To revenge this outrage, the citizens massacred eleven Spanish prisoners, and having cut off the heads, and shaved the hair and beard after the fashion of beggars, packed them in a barrel, which they rolled towards the enemy's camp with these words inscribed on it: "This is the tenth for which the Duke of Alva has besieged

Haarlem, and as we did not pay it before, we have 1573 sent the interest that he might not complain." The besiegers likewise having hanged their prisoners within sight of the town, some by the neck, and some by one foot, their example was followed by their opponents, who erected a gallows on the walls, on which they executed not only the Spanish prisoners, but one or two of the citizens who favoured their party. Don Frederic finding the ill-success of his assaults, had recourse to the slower effect of mines; but several were sprung by means of the skilful countermining of the besieged, and the damage caused by the rest was small and speedily repaired. His confidence, therefore, began to give way to despair; the scarcity of provisions in his camp was extreme, and the intense cold had occasioned among his troops wide-spread sickness and desertion. He was inclined to have raised the siege; but the commands, and stinging taunts of his father, who declared, that "If sick and unable to go in person to the camp, he would send for his mother from Spain to fill the place of her son," together with a powerful reinforcement of troops, determined him to persevere; and ere long, the breaking up of the frost, brought about a lamentable change in the prospects of Haarlem. The Lord of Bossu having cut through the dike between the Y and the sea of Haarlem, opened by this means a passage into the latter for a large fleet of sixty vessels, which the Duke of Alva had equipped at Amsterdam. By the presence of this powerful armament, which the Holland ships were unable to withstand, the communication between Leyden and Haarlem was entirely cut off, and the only mode of conveying intelligence was by means of carrier pigeons, which, as they were frequently shot by the enemy, discovered to them, instead of the besieged, the plans

1573 formed for their relief. These were invariably unsuccessful, and in a short time, money and provisions began to fail within the walls; the first was supplied in some degree by coining promissory specie of small value; and the inhabitants were put upon an allowance of a pound of bread a day to each man, and a malt cake for the women and children. But even this scanty supply soon ceased; rape and hempseed, the flesh of dogs, cats, and vermin, were greedily devoured; and when these were exhausted, a wretched substitute was found in the tanned hides of cows and oxen. Still they supported their woes with unshaken firmness; the besieging army which had encamped on the ice, sickened under the damp summer heats, and Haarlem was yet unconquered. Orange making one more effort for its relief, despatched 500 waggons, laden with food and ammunition, under the convoy of the Lord of Batenburg, with all the troops that could be spared from the neighbouring garrisons, and a considerable number of volunteers, burghers of Delft, Leyden, and Rotterdam, amounting together to about 5000 men. Batenburg was surprised by an ambush of the enemy's soldiers, himself slain, and his army cut in pieces. Then first the courage of the besieged fell; Don Frederic had received a reinforcement of fresh troops, and threatened them with another assault, which they were not now in a condition to repel; numbers had perished of hunger; the streets were crowded with sick and dying, and the feeble and wasted garrison were no longer able to do their duty. They first formed the desperate resolution of sallying forth in a body with their women and children in the midst, and fighting their way through the enemy's lines; but this was prevented by the refusal of the German troops to join in the attempt. Don Frederic, dreading that the

effects of their despair might lead them to set fire to 1573 their houses, and bury themselves under the ruins, sent a herald to declare, that he would observe the utmost clemency towards such as remained in the town. They, July therefore, after a siege of seven months, surrendered ^{14.} to the mercy of the conqueror, and were permitted to redeem themselves from pillage by the payment of 240,000 guilders. A general amnesty was granted by the Duke of Alva to all the citizens except fifty-seven; and the Spaniards, fearful of losing the promised ransom, forbore their usual work of massacre and plunder. The executions were, however, sufficiently numerous to have satiated their cruelty. The first act of Roderigo di Toledo, brother of the general, was the beheading of the gallant Wybald van Ripperda, the promoter and sustainer of this memorable defence; Lancelot van Brederode next shared the same fate, together with all those who had shown themselves most active during the siege, and the reformed preachers. Of the English, Scotch, and French soldiers, 300 were drowned, and 900 hanged or beheaded; the Germans only, as having been the first to advise the surrender, were spared*. The conquerors purchased their victory with the loss of 12,000 men^w.

The surrender of Haarlem spread grief and dread throughout the whole of Holland. The prospect of affairs was, in truth, melancholy in the extreme. Nearly every resource for raising money was exhausted, while the public necessities were daily more great and

* Bor, boek vi., bl. 421 et seq. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 88—92. Campana, lib. iii. and iv.

* Campana, a Catholic, and a partizan of the Duke of Alva, affirms, that 2000 persons were put to death in cold blood, within the space of eight days from the surrender.—Guer. di Fiand., lib. iv., p. 112.

1573 pressing; the soldiers, in a lax state of discipline, did more mischief to their friends than to their enemies, and, as well as the seamen, were continually on the point of mutiny for want of pay; the Hollanders, undisturbed by invasion since the pacification with Guelderland in 1543, knew little of the art of defensive warfare, and their towns were badly fortified and worse provided. In addition to all these disadvantages they lost, about this time, one of their ablest commanders in William van der Mark, lord of Lumey, whose cruelties, committed chiefly on the Catholic priests, had become so frequent and atrocious, as to render him generally abhorred, while his insolence and contumacy had risen to such a pitch as to defy the authority of the states, and even of the prince himself. He was deprived of his offices and thrown into prison, but ultimately permitted to retire with his property from Holland. Whatever his crimes and defects, he cannot but be looked upon as one of the principal founders of the liberties of Holland*.

Discouraged and dispirited, the exiles, who had returned to their country, began to prepare for a second flight; each town expected that it would be the next to share the fate of Haarlem. In the peevish impatience of despair the inhabitants of North Holland, through the medium of their governor, Theodore Sonnoy, laid before the Prince of Orange a lamentable picture of the desolation of the country, and their inability to defend themselves any longer, unless he could obtain the protection of some powerful sovereign. But William well knew how to touch that deep chord of enthusiasm which lay unstrung but for awhile in the hearts of the Hollanders to vibrate through the land. "The King of kings is our only ally," he replied, "and

* Bor, boek vi., bl. 424.

in him will we put our trust. Is it because the mis- 1573
 fortunes to which all men are subject have fallen upon
 you, that manly courage has fled entirely from your
 hearts? If God has done what it pleased him with
 Haarlem, is it therefore that his arm is shortened?
 Has he forsaken his Church, that it should deny him?
 Cast away from you all idle fears; arouse within your-
 selves the courage of former days, and each labouring
 heartily to do his duty, the blessing of God shall be
 with you.”

The voice of complaint was heard no more. The
 people treated with silent scorn the threats pro-
 mulgated by Alva under the semblance of an edict of
 pardon, that “if they did not immediately submit they
 should be utterly exterminated with fire and sword,
 and what remained of their land given to strangers to
 dwell in.” They renewed with vigour their prepara-
 tions for defence, repaired and strengthened the for-
 tifications of the towns, and collected stores of pro-
 visions and ammunition as abundant as the exhausted
 state of the country permitted. The prince and states
 at the same time, neglected no means of replenishing
 the finances; but for this purpose they were obliged
 to resort to the unpopular measures of seizing the
 church property and the estates of fugitives, as well as
 the granting of licences and permits to trading vessels;
 the people, however, paid all without a murmur. A
 council of state was also appointed, (without any men-
 tion of the king,) to dispose of the confiscated property,
 and to punish the irregularities of the governors of
 garrisons, captains, and soldiers².

Ample time was given to the Hollanders to arrange
 their affairs, in consequence of a mutiny which broke

¹ Bor, boek vi., bl. 446—448.

² Grotius, *Ann. Belg.*, lib. ii., p. 58. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 94.

1573 out among the troops engaged at the siege of Haarlem, to whom twenty-eight months' arrears of pay were due. It was appeased with great difficulty at the end of seven weeks, when Alva determined to make a decisive attack on Holland both by land and water, and with this view commanded his son, Don Frederic di Toledo, to march to the siege of Alkmaar, and repaired in person to Amsterdam to inspect the equipment of a fleet of thirty ships; of which the largest, bearing the ominous name of the Inquisition, carried thirty-two guns and 350 men^a. Don Frederic laid siege to Alkmaar at the head of 16,000 able and efficient troops; within the town were 1300 armed burghers and 800 soldiers, as many perhaps as it was at that time capable of containing. With this handful of men the citizens of Alkmaar defended themselves no less resolutely than the Haarlemmers had done. The fierce onslaughts of the Spaniards were beaten back with uniform success on the part of the besieged; the women and girls were never seen to shrink from the fight, even where it was hottest, but unceasingly supplied the defenders with stones and burning missiles, to throw amongst their enemies. At last the Spaniards scarcely dared to show themselves beyond their trenches; but as there were no means of conveying reinforcements to the besieged from without, and their supplies began to fail, they resolved, after a month's siege, on the desperate measure of cutting through the dykes. Some troops sent by Sonnoy having effected this, and opened the sluices, the whole country was soon deluged with water. Don Frederic, astounded at this novel mode of warfare, and fearing that himself and his whole army would be drowned, broke up his camp in haste, and fled, rather than retreated, to Amsterdam^b.

^a Bor, boek vi., bl. 450.

^b Idem, 455. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 95.

It seemed almost as though the blessing which the 1573 Prince of Orange had promised his people had come upon them. The capture of Geertruydenberg, about this time, by one of his lieutenants, was followed by a naval victory, as signal as it was important. The Admiral Bossu, to whom was given the command of the fleet at Amsterdam, having sailed through the Pampus with the design of occupying the Zuyderzee, and thus making himself master of the towns of North Holland, encountered the fleet of those towns, consisting of twenty-four vessels, commanded by Admiral Dirkson, stationed in the Zuyderzee to await his arrival. Several days were consumed in partial skirmishes, the wind not permitting the ships to come to a general engagement; when at length a favourable breeze springing up, the Dutch vessels made sail straight towards the enemy, by whom they were received with a heavy fire. Being so poorly supplied with ammunition as to be unable to return it, the Hollanders ran in amongst their opponents, and the Admiral Dirkson bringing up his prow close to the *Inquisition*, in which was Bossu himself, threw out the grappling irons, and succeeded in making her fast. Scarcely was this effected when one John Harink, a volunteer from Hoorn, sprang on board and hauled down the admiral's flag. He was instantly shot dead; but the circumstance tended in no small degree to damp the ardour of the combatants on the Spanish side. The other Holland vessels, in like manner, forced their enemies to come to a close fight, which lasted with little intermission from the afternoon of the 11th of October to midday of the 12th, during which time two of the royalist ships were sunk and a third captured; the remainder then lost courage, and throwing the greater portion of their guns overboard to expedite their

1573 sailing, fled into the Pampus. Bossu seeing himself wholly deserted, and that every means of escape was cut off, proposed a surrender upon terms which, after some difficulty, were accepted, and he was carried prisoner to Hoorn. Unfortunately, for some reason which does not appear, the Dutch neglected to pursue the fugitive and disabled vessels, which, if they had done, there is little doubt that the whole would have been captured or destroyed. On intelligence of the issue of the battle, Alva quitted Amsterdam in haste and secrecy. This success delivered the towns of North Holland from the most imminent danger, and rendered the possession of Amsterdam nearly useless to the royalists, since the Gueux surrounding it on all sides, effectually barred the communication with the southern provinces^c.

As Alva was unable to obtain any further remittances from Spain, and had wholly failed in the exaction of the tenth, he was driven to have recourse to the irksome and now hazardous measure of summoning the states-general, in order to obtain from them a vote of subsidy. Upon their assembling at Brussels, the states of Holland despatched an earnest and eloquent address, exhorting them to emancipate themselves from Spanish slavery and the cruel tyranny of Alva, which the want of unanimity in the provinces had alone enabled him to exercise. If, they urged, the united forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, had been unable to conquer the strip of land which formed the province of Holland, how easy would it have been for them, had they made it a common cause, to have preserved entire the liberties, peace, and wealth of their country; since it was from the Netherlands alone that Alva drew strength and resources to enable him to

^c Velius Hoorn, boek iii., bl. 221—225.

oppress the Netherlands. If, at last, Holland were 1573 subdued, he would take vengeance on the whole of the provinces as rebels, for refusing the tenth; but that, they observed, would be no trifling task, since they were determined to perish, *one town after another, man by man*, rather than submit to so disgraceful a slavery^d. Their remonstrance appears to have been attended with a powerful effect, since the states-general could neither by threats or remonstrances be induced to grant the smallest subsidy. At the same time, the states of Holland forwarded a petition to the king, wherein, after recapitulating the cruelties and enormities of Alva, they declared that it was never their intention to take up arms against their sovereign, but solely to relieve themselves from the tyranny of the Spaniards, which they were resolved never to endure^e. From their previous acts, we should be rather led to suppose, that they had not, from the first, any real intention of returning under the dominion of Philip, and that the petition was merely framed for the purpose of placing their cause in a favourable light before the world. However this may be, they had soon an opportunity of evincing their sincerity, since Alva, having become heartily weary of the government he had involved in such irretrievable confusion, now obtained his recall; his place was filled by Don Louis de Requesens, grand commander of Castile^f.

In the November of this year, Alva quitted the Netherlands, leaving behind him a name which has become a bye-word of hatred, scorn, and execration. He is described as tall and spare in person, his countenance long and pallid, with eyes deeply sunk in the forehead, and expressive of harshness and austerity;

^d Bor, boek vi., bl. 459, et seq.

^e Idem, 471.

^f Meteren, boek iv., fol. 90.

1573 insolent to an excess towards his equals and inferiors; overbearing and opiniated, but penetrating, sagacious, and eloquent; devotedly faithful to his sovereign, it is yet remarkable that, though employed and trusted for sixty years by Philip and his father, he possessed not the smallest share of the affection of either. In ability and experience, he stood unrivalled among the commanders of his age; but while firm and fertile in resources in adversity, he was puffed up by prosperity to a height of arrogance amounting to folly. Accustomed from his earliest years to serve in the barbarous wars waged by his country against the Moors, and in Italy, France, and Hungary, he had learned to look on human suffering, and to trample on the rights and shed the blood of mankind, with a remorseless and reckless indifference which seems hardly credible. Were the pages of Italian and American history closed to us, we might, indeed, hesitate to believe even the grave and upright historians of the time, in the accounts they have transmitted of the ferocious cruelties which the Spaniards continually practised, and to which Alva gave his connivance and encouragement. During the six years that he had governed the Netherlands, 18,000 persons had perished by the hand of the executioner, besides the numbers massacred at Naarden, Zutphen, and other conquered cities, and those whom the Spanish soldiers put to death in the wantonness of impunity. The amount of profits from confiscated estates was said to be 8,000,000 of guilders yearly; nor was the property of hospitals, almshouses, or orphan asylums, spared in the general plunder. The Spaniards were accustomed to take whatever they chose without payment, observing, that everything in the Netherlands belonged to them, as forfeited for rebellion; the smallest resistance was followed by instant death; the

husbands and fathers who attempted to protect their 1573 families from their brutality, were slaughtered on the spot; some they flayed alive, and used their skins for drums; others had their flesh torn off with red-hot pincers; and others were roasted before a slow fire, to force them to reveal their treasures. Even the ashes of the dead were not left in peace, but disinterred and burnt, under the pretext that they had died without confession. One man was condemned and put to death because he had afforded shelter for a single night to his only son, proscribed for heresy; another for bestowing a morsel of food on the widow of a person executed for the same cause; a female of high rank, eighty-four years of age, was publicly beheaded at Utrecht, in the presence of Alva, for having on one occasion received a reformed preacher into her house; and many rich and noble ladies were stripped of their possessions for holding communication with their husbands, who had been outlawed as fugitives. Nevertheless, Vargas, on his departure with Alva, remarked, that the King of Spain had lost the Netherlands through an excess of clemency and forbearance. Contrary to the expectations of many, Philip received Alva with every appearance of favour, and continued, with one short intermission, to trust and employ him till his death, which happened during the expedition to Portugal, in 1582. His last act was to place on his master's head the crown of that kingdom, the conquest of which he effected in the space of ten weeks^g.

^g Campana, lib. iii., p. 68. Meteren, boek iv., fol. 96—98. Bor, boek vi., 464, et passim. Hooft, boek viii., bl. 333. Du Maurier, p. 65.

N O T E S.

NOTE A. (Page 7.)

THE following extracts will serve to show that this position is not assumed upon insufficient grounds; they are taken from the "Description of the Netherlands," published by Louis Guicciardini*, in 1563, three years before the first outbreak of the disturbances with Spain. In this work, the fruit of many years' diligent observation, the author informs us, that 300 merchant ships were accustomed to cast anchor every year at Amsterdam, where they found such a ready market for their wares, that they were usually cleared by the fifth or sixth day; and that Arnemuyden (a town in Zealand of secondary importance, and having no voice in the assembly of the states) was noted for the immense number of vessels constantly in its harbour, whence there often sailed fleets of from fifty to two hundred ships, besides numerous single vessels trading to and from Antwerp. Holland employed 600 vessels, of from fifty to one hundred tons each, in the herring fishery: and the average number of large merchant ships was above 800. The importation of corn from Denmark, Poland, and the Hanse towns, into the province of Holland alone, averaged 6,480,000 bushels, while the butter and cheese exported from thence brought in a revenue of 1,000,000 of florins. The value of the exportations in general may be estimated from the fact, that the single town of Gouda paid an export duty of 3000 ducats annually, upon so simple an article of commerce as the Dutch tiles. We are told also, that although Holland produced no flax, more fine linen was made there than in any other country of the world, the yarn being imported chiefly from Flanders; nor was the manufacture of cloth less extensive, although wholly dependent on foreign wools, since 12,000 bales were made in the town of Haarlem alone: in like manner, although the country afforded no materials for ship building, more vessels were constructed and equipped in the ports

* Uncle of the celebrated historian of that name.

of Holland, than in almost all the rest of Europe together. *Lud. Guicc. Belg. Des.*, tom. ii., p. 92, 93, 94, 110, 183, 243. We shall see during the course of the history, that the Dutch were able frequently to equip navies sufficiently powerful to withstand those of France and the Hanse towns, and to send forth large fleets of merchant vessels, as well as ships of war.

NOTE B. (Page 22.)

The time of the foundation of the county of Holland is involved in great obscurity, and I will not enter into the tedious discussion as to whether it should be fixed in 863, according to the most prevalent opinion, or, as others say, in the year 922. For the former date we have the authority of Melis Stoke, John of Leyden, Beka, Barlandus, Meyer, and numerous others; while Buchelius, the annotator of the Chronicle of Beka, Schryver, John van der Duys the younger, and the author of the admirable "*Vaterlandsche Historie*," (Wagenaar) insist upon the latter. The origin and rise of the county are, I believe, here traced with as much clearness as the intricacy of the subject admits of; and the facts stated are borne out by the documents preserved in the "*Diplomata*" of Miræus, of the authenticity of which there seems no reason to doubt: one or two brief observations, therefore, will suffice to prove, that neither of the foregoing conjectures is absolutely correct. Charles the Bald of France, by whom the original grant in 863* was supposed to have been made, possessed no part of Holland, since all the land between the Rhine and the Meuse was included in the kingdom of Lorraine; and Charles the Simple, who did in fact bestow Egmond and its dependencies on Theodore I. in 912, was in 922 engaged in a war with the rebel, Duke Robert of Paris, who had usurped his crown; and consequently it was highly improbable that he should confer grants of those lands of which at that time he was not even in possession, since little more than Aquitaine was left to him by the usurper.

* Velly, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii., p. 203.

* The county of Flanders was, in fact, founded at this period; and either this circumstance may have given rise to the mistake, or the monks of Egmond, the first chroniclers of Holland, may have wilfully falsified the date in the charter, as not wishing the origin of their nation to appear less ancient than that of the Flemings, their neighbours and rivals.

NOTE C. (Page 37.)

The historian Wagenaar (Vat. Hist., boek vii., No. 1.) is of opinion that the Counts of Holland had no footing in Friezland, east of the Zuyderzee, until long after this period. But the whole of the land lying between the Yssel and "Liore," is mentioned in the grant of Otho III. to Theodore II., count of Holland: and the latter is much more likely to be the Lauwers in Friezland, than, as Wagenaar supposes, the small stream of the Lee in the southern part of Delftland, which, as Medemblick and the Texel are also named, would exclude the country lying between, that is, the greater portion of Delftland, and the whole of Rhynland and North Holland: indeed, a single glance at the map will suffice to show that it was hardly possible this stream could have been the boundary fixed upon for the county. The supposition that the Lauwers is in reality the river meant, besides the similarity of the name, is further confirmed by the great probability which exists, that the Zuyderzee was still, as in the time of the Romans, an inland sea, Friezland and West Friezland forming one continued tract of land along the north of it, intersected by the Vlie, which connected the Zuyderzee with the ocean, the rivers Medemblick, Chimelosara, and other small streams. A flood, which happened in 1173, considerably extended the limits of the Zuyderzee, and from that period until 1396 it continued gradually to increase, overflowing "whole forests and many thousand acres of land, so that large ships might be navigated where carriages used to travel." In 1396 another deluge occurred, which formed the Marsdiep, separated the islands of Texel, Vlielandt, and Wieringen from the main land, and drowned the land around Enkhuyzen and Medemblick^b. We may therefore conclude that the rivers Medemelec, or Medemblick, and Kinnem in Kemmerland, with the Texel, were the boundaries of the county, as granted by Otho III., on the west*, and the Lauwers on the east. The Emperor Lothaire certainly made a grant of Friezland, in 1125, to his nephew Theodore VI.; but if the rights of the counts of Holland were founded solely upon this charter, it is hardly probable that the Emperor Frederic I. should have considered their claims and those of the bishops of Utrecht so equal, as to decide that the government should be divided between them (in 1165), since the grant of

^b Schryver's Graaven, deel i., bl. 343.

* The portion of Holland around Egmond was granted by Charles the Simple, king of France.

Lothaire was long subsequent to those of Henry IV. of 1077 and 1086, upon which the bishops grounded their pretensions. John of Leyden, speaking of the grant of Lothaire, says, that he again incorporated the land in question with the county of Holland, according to the ancient rights, "*secundum antiqua privilegia iterum incorporavit.*" He likewise tells us, that Friezland had been wrested from Holland, by Egbert, margrave of Brandenburg^d, which opinion is adopted by the author of the *Netherland Chronicle*^e, and by Heda^f, but controverted by Buchelius, the annotator of the latter (Note "c,") on the ground that the expulsion of the Count of Holland is not mentioned in the diplomas of Henry IV. to the bishop of Utrecht: but it does not appear probable that either the emperor who made the grants, or the bishop who obtained them, would voluntarily adduce any pretensions which the Counts of Holland may have had to the territories conferred by them.

NOTE D. (Page 125.)

Suspicious have been cast upon Edward, as if guilty of a previous knowledge of the murder of Count Florence; they are, however, not borne out by facts. It is true that the chief instigator of the plot, the Lord of Cuyck, was engaged to perform any service that the King of England might require of him, in consideration of the sum of 2000 livres; but we are not justified in concluding that the treaty was made between them with a view to this particular transaction, since it was merely such an one as petty princes frequently entered into with rich and powerful monarchs; nor were the terms of it unusual, since Waleran, lord of Monjoie and Hauquemont, bound himself to the service of Edward nearly at the same time, in a manner precisely similar: "*Et sur ces (i. e. the 2000 livres,) lui avions faite homage, et foiauté, pur li loiaument servir à notre poer, et consailler.*" There is likewise no evidence to show that the conspirators themselves entertained any other design at first, than that of conveying Count Florence to imprisonment in England or Flanders, which being prevented by the Naardeners and Friezlanders they suddenly resolved upon putting him to death, lest his rescue should be achieved. It is far less easy to acquit Edward of an active participation in the iniquitous scheme of confining Florence

^e Lib. xvii., cap. 2.

^d Lib. xv., cap. 5.

^e Divis. x., cap. 10.

^f P. 138,

in prison for the remainder of his life. The angry terms in which June he expressed himself with regard to the count's alliance with 26th France⁶; the promise of assistance made to the conspirators at Cambray by his temporary vassal, the Lord of Cuyck, a promise which could hardly have been ventured upon without his sanction; the fact that the conspirators carried their prisoner to Muyden for the purpose of transporting him thence to England; and, above all, a letter which he wrote to the emperor, only two days before the count's death, wherein he makes use of this remarkable expression, "*speramus enim quod magis in personâ filii, quam in personâ patris res eadem foret salva*," are circumstances that fix upon him a considerable, if not the largest share in the guilt of this enterprise, to which he was prompted at once by a feeling of vengeance against Florence for having forsaken his alliance, and by the ambition of exercising unbounded influence in the affairs of Holland when the nominal government was lodged in the hands of his infant son-in-law.

NOTE E. (Page 149.)

With the account of this marriage ends the Rhyme Chronicle of the monk of Egmond, Melis Stoke: a work which, whether in regard to the fidelity and judgment displayed in the relation of the facts, or (considering the age in which it was written) the purity and dignity of the language, is of inestimable value to the literature as well as to the history of Holland; and honourable alike to the author and to the country which produced him, at a time when rude rhymes and monkish legends constituted the chief of the poetry and history of the northern nations of Europe. The "*Rymchronyk*" is written in the "*ottava rima*," or verses of eight feet, the measure being preserved less by the exact number of syllables, than by emphases and points, in the same manner as in our own Chaucer: the versification, well sustained throughout, is in many parts by no means deficient in softness and harmony, but constantly adheres to the simplicity of history, being wholly destitute of poetical imagery, or rhetorical ornament. The early part of the Chronicle is brief, and often somewhat obscure, being probably intended merely as an introduction to the contemporary history, which commences with the reign of Florence V., when the details become sufficiently full, and the descriptions often graphic and striking;

⁶ Rym. Foed., tom. ii. p. 117.

they are intermingled, however, with tedious and common place reflections, which the learned editor, Huydecoper, conjectures with great probability, to have been the interpolations of some of the transcribing monks: indeed, the terse and vigorous style of the author himself may be distinguished by the most superficial reader. The farewell address to the young Count William, then about nineteen, is so remarkable for its boldness and simplicity, that I cannot resist the temptation of inserting it at length:—"Lord of Holland, noble Count. I, Melis Stoke, your poor clerk, have finished this work for your behoof, and for the honour of God. Take heed that you lose not the good name you now have: else will your condition be worse than if you had never gained it, and all your foregone labour fruitless. Think always on virtue: give all you can, but be careful what you give, and to whom you give it. Look into the mouths of your parasites, and see whether they flatter for gain. Do justice over the whole land, to the lord and to the peasant. Measure out right, and justice to every one according to his deserts; so if he complain, he shall complain without cause: if you do not this, you do ill, and he shall trample you under foot, and say, the devil may serve and love such a master. Reward him who serves you; so will he remain your constant friend. Judge the rich as well as the poor, and let not the poor make lamentation. If you do this, you shall do well. Be courteous in deed and word, and maintain a firm countenance. Keep moderation in all things. Love the holy Church, and honour clerks, priests, and monks; so shall our Lord strengthen you. Despise not the poor, but do good to him; that is to do well. God preserve your worldly honour in this life; and after this life, may you come to where holy angels praise the Lord. This may the Child of Mary grant; and let all who love the count say, Amen."

NOTE F. (Page 166.)

A moment's reflection on the relative situation of the two classes at this period will show us, that hatred and dissensions must of necessity spring up between them. The feudal system was now on the decline: the sovereigns by such restraints as they had been able to impose on the custom of private war, and on the exercise of the hereditary jurisdictions of the nobles, (by the encouragement of appeals from the Barons' Courts to their own,) had lessened considerably the dread and respect which this order had formerly

inspired : while the towns had, during the crusades, risen from various causes in wealth and importance. The communication with the east, during the same period, had inspired the nobility with a taste for luxury and magnificence, which the extended commerce of the towns enabled them to gratify : and as the estates of the former no longer sufficed to supply their multiplied wants, and they had no other means of increasing their resources than the inadequate and uncertain expedient of military plunder, they were frequently reduced to solicit loans from the rich and industrious burghers, and were accordingly at once dependent upon, and jealous of them. Debased by their poverty, and insolent from the pride of their high birth, they alternately cringed to, and plundered the wealthy and peaceful traders. The commons, on the other hand, sustaining alone the pecuniary burdens of the state, envied the privileges enjoyed by the nobles, whom they detested for their tyranny, rapacity, and debauchery, and despised for their ignorance and indolence, and the puerile vanity which led them to squander their incomes in splendid festivals and gauds for the decoration of their persons ; while they themselves, beginning now pretty generally to assert and use the right of taking up arms in their own defence, rather sought to repel violence by violence, and repay aggression with aggression, than to shelter themselves under the protection and restraint of the laws. The sovereigns meanwhile, now supporting the people with a view of creating a balance to the aristocratic power, and flattering them in order to draw supplies from their pockets to their own empty exchequer—now prompted by ancient prejudices, and their instinctive dread of popular control, to lend their favour and countenance to the nobles—rather exasperated than curbed the rancorous passions that agitated both.

NOTE G. (Page 207.)

The following is the letter addressed by the Countess Jacoba to Humphry of Gloucester (commonly called the "Good Duke Humphry"), as translated by Johnes from Monstrelet's Chronicle :
 " My very dear and redoubted lord and father, in the most humble of manners in this world, I recommend myself to your kind favour. May it please you to know, my very redoubted lord and father, that I address myself to you as the most doleful, most ruined, and most treacherously deceived woman living ; for, my very dear lord,

on Sunday, the 13th of this present month of June, the deputies of your town of Mons returned, and brought with them a treaty that had been agreed on between our fair cousin of Burgundy and our fair cousin of Brabant ; which treaty had been made in the absence and without the knowledge of my mother, as she herself signifies to me, and confirmed by her chaplain, Master Gerard le Grand.

“ My mother, most redoubted lord, has written to me letters, certifying the above treaty having been made ; but that in regard to it, she knew not how to advise me, for that she was herself doubtful how to act. She desired me, however, to call an assembly of the principal burghers of Mons, and learn from them what aid and advice they were willing to give me. Upon this, my sweet lord and father, I went on the morrow to the town-house, and remonstrated with them, that it had been at their request and earnest entreaties that you had left me under their safeguard and on their oaths, that they would be true and loyal subjects, and take especial care of me, so that they should be enabled to give you good accounts on your return ; and these oaths had been taken on the holy sacrament at the altar, and on the sacred evangelists.

“ To this my harangue, my dear and honoured lord, they simply replied, that they were not sufficiently strong within the town to defend and guard me ; and instantaneously they rose in tumult, saying that my people wanted to murder them ; and, my sweet lord, they carried matters so far that, in despite of me, they arrested one of your sergeants, called Maquart, whom they immediately beheaded, and hanged very many who were of your party and strongly attached to your interest, such as Bardould de la Porte, his brother Colart, and others, to the number of 250 of your adherents. They also wished to seize Sir Baldwin the treasurer, and Sir Louis de Montfort ; but though they did not succeed, I know not what they intend doing ; for, my very dear lord, they plainly told me that unless I make peace, they will deliver me into the hands of the Duke of Brabant, and that I shall only remain eight days longer in their town, when I shall be forced to go into Flanders, which will be to me the most painful of events ; for I very much fear that, unless you shall hasten to free me from the hands I am now in, I shall never see you more. Alas ! my most dear and redoubted father, my whole hope is in your power, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings arise from my love to you. I therefore entreat, in the most humble manner possible, and for the love of God, that you would be pleased to have compassion on me and on my affairs ; for you must hasten to succour your most doleful creature, if you do not wish to lose her for

ever. I have hopes that you will do as I beg, for, dear father, have never behaved ill to you in my whole life, and so long as I shall live I will never do any thing to displease you, but I am ready to die for love of you and your noble person.

“Your government pleases me much; and by my faith, my very redoubted lord and prince, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you will consider; by the love of God and of my lord St. George, the melancholy situation of myself and my affairs more maturely than you have hitherto done, for you seem entirely to have forgotten me.

“Nothing more do I know at present than that I ought sooner to have sent Sir Louis de Montfort to you, for he cannot longer remain here, although he attended me when all the rest deserted me; and he will tell you more particularly all that has happened than I can do in a letter. I entreat, therefore, that you will be a kind lord to him, and send me your good pleasure and commands, which I will most heartily obey. This is known to the blessed Son of God, whom I pray to grant you a long and happy life, and that I may have the great joy of seeing you soon.

“Written in the false and traitorous town of Mons, with a doleful heart, the 16th day of June.” The letter was signed “your sorrowful and well-beloved daughter, suffering great grief by your commands—your daughter, De Quienebourg.”

NOTE H. (Page 346.)

The epithet of “moneyless,” bestowed on Maximilian, and better applied than the cognomens usually given to princes, was a consequence no less of his political situation, than of his personal character. A portion, and not the larger portion, of his dominions consisted of the Netherlands, the most industrious and wealthy states in Europe; states which not long before had supported the splendid and voluptuous court of Philip of Burgundy, and of which a few provinces, in this same century, were indebted for their success in a protracted war against Spain, the mistress of the treasures of the new world, chiefly to their superior regularity in the payment of their troops: yet Maximilian, lord of these rich provinces, was, from his poverty, an object of mistrust to his allies, and of contempt to his enemies. The principal cause of this seeming anomaly is to be found in the new system of politics introduced by Louis XI. of

France, which, rendering each nation, instead of an isolated individual, a member of a great political body, had widened the views and extended the sphere of action of the principal monarchs of Europe, while their increased efforts were unsupported at home by a regular method of taxation, or an economical system of finance. The nobles still claimed exemption from the burdens of the state: the taxes paid by the industrious classes, and levied chiefly upon land and raw produce, or by means of irksome restrictions on commerce, drained the wealth of the country even at the fountain head; while for want of skilful regulations in the mode of collecting them, only a small portion of the funds extorted from the people found their way into the treasury of the sovereign. Henry VII. of England was, at the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth century, the only wealthy prince of Europe; and of the means he adopted to accumulate his riches, Lord Bacon has given us only too vivid a description. The poverty of Maximilian was the more conspicuous, because, while in appearance sovereign of a vast empire, he was in fact lord only of an assemblage of independent states, in not one of which, except his hereditary duchy of Austria, did he possess the power of taxing his subjects; and his schemes, begun without consideration, and abandoned without cause, were seldom sufficiently popular to induce his states to open their purses in his support.

NOTE I. (Page 519.)

The conduct of the Prince of Orange on this occasion has not wanted strenuous defenders; but it is impossible to plead for it either excuse or justification, and the cause of truth and virtue does but suffer in the attempt. The inclination which historians are too prone to gratify, to elevate into heroes the actors in the events of which they treat, and by enhancing their qualifications and disguising their failings, to give to their character an appearance of perfection of which human nature is incapable; besides that it is a spurious and dishonest mode of exciting the interest of their readers, tends to throw an air of fiction and exaggeration over the whole, and renders them utterly valueless as models for imitation. William was unhappily placed in the situation in which every leader of a popular party must at one time or other find himself, when, in order to gain the numbers requisite to the success of his cause, the ambitious are to be gratified, the rapacious satiated, the vain flattered,

the lukewarm roused, and the timid encouraged or deceived. His object was now to excite a general and active spirit of hostility to the government in the minds of the Netherlands—inclined, like most trading and commercial people, rather to sit down patiently under a wrong, trusting to time and chance to work out a remedy, than to risk the loss of the actual advantages they enjoyed by adopting violent and coercive measures of redress; and to accomplish this, he scrupled not to violate the oath he had taken as councillor of state to advise the governess to the best of his ability, by giving counsels, the effect of which would be, as he was well aware, to embarrass her with difficulties, and involve her affairs in confusion. The error into which so great and good a man was in this instance betrayed, affords evidence of the strength of the temptation which besets a party leader to commit acts in the heat of party contention, which his calmer reason would spurn, and to make deviations from the strict principle of rectitude and honour, which should be exquisitely painful to an upright mind.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.





